

Residents' experience of high-density housing in London
LSE London/LSE Cities report for the GLA

Final report
June 2018

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1. Rationale for the research and context

The housing and planning departments of the Greater London Authority have commissioned this research in order to better understand residents' experience of living in high-density housing in London. In future, new housing in the capital will generally be built at high densities compared to the bulk of existing homes. The findings from this research will help inform London's planning and housing guidance, to ensure that these new homes work well for their residents and for London as a whole.

The face of London is changing. From the 18th century onwards, it was characterised by terraced houses, by parks and green squares and private gardens—compared to its European neighbours, a low-rise, low-density city. Some areas developed with relatively high density, generally as a result of concentrations of large blocks of flats or heavily-populated terraces. But London's new homes, and indeed new neighbourhoods, are increasingly in high-density environments: in medium-rise but high-density areas like East Village, the former athletes' village for the 2012 Olympic Games; in the residential towers that line the south bank of the Thames from Battersea to central London; in tight clusters of high-rise blocks such as at Millharbour on the Isle of Dogs, the single most densely populated ward in the United Kingdom.

This process is set to continue as London's population grows. The forecast is that the capital will have over 10 million inhabitants by 2030, and Mayor Sadiq Khan has set ambitious targets for house building. The Metropolitan Green Belt constrains the lateral expansion of the city. Increasing the number of homes within the same footprint implies higher densities. How can we ensure that these developments and neighbourhoods are good places to live, now and in decades to come?

Urbanists from Jane Jacobs to Richard Rogers have extolled the virtues of the dense city. In contemporary terms, dense cities are more environmentally and socially sustainable: walking, cycling and use of public transport become more attractive than driving; living in proximity means residents have more regular social interaction; the city's physical footprint is smaller. Such benefits are, however, contingent on the provision of adequate infrastructure, on the location of dense neighbourhoods in relation to employment and retail centres and to open space, and on the quality and design of the public and circulation spaces within and around the new neighbourhoods. Social sustainability also depends on the composition of the neighbourhood population and the degree of stability and continuity.

Cultural, social and physical factors influence and determine housing aspirations and norms. In the UK, high density housing for many years carried negative connotations of deprivation and crime, even though London has many affluent, safe and popular high-density neighbourhoods. Modern new high-density residential developments are indeed very different from the houses with gardens to which Londoners historically have aspired. But patterns of aspiration appear to be changing: many of the city's immigrant households bring with them housing expectations formed in countries where high-rise living is the norm. The same may be true of the young. In recent years fewer London households have made the traditional move to the suburbs.

One important difference between London's new high-density developments and older high-density areas is that flats in recent schemes are often predominantly privately rented.

The private rented sector (PRS) has grown rapidly in London over the last decades, fuelled by changes in tenancy laws, by the introduction of buy-to-let mortgages and, in recent years, by the increasing difficulty of gaining access to owner-occupation due in large part to soaring property prices. There is a growing (though still small) number of ‘build to rent’ blocks owned and managed by single organisations, but most PRS dwellings are owned unit-by-unit by separate individual landlords. One element of this research examines the relationship between housing tenure and residents’ views about high-density living, and contrasts the experiences of tenants with different types of landlords.

High-density for-sale or PRS developments are often targeted at young couples or sharers, and surveys suggest that there are indeed relatively few families with children in such housing. But there are some, particularly in schemes where affordable or social housing is provided on-site, and the numbers will increase as more are built. Our research asks how well these flats work for families and what could make them function better as family homes.

The proliferation of high-rise and high-density developments in London is changing not only the aesthetic of the city but also the way it works on the ground—the routes taken by pedestrians, the shapes of public spaces, the views. What is built now will almost certainly be standing in 40 years and may still be there in 100. Today’s choices regarding design and materials will have long-term implications for both future residents and the wider public, and based on our findings we make some recommendations about how to ensure their design legacy is a good one.

2. Research questions and methodology

2.1. *Phases 1 and 2*

The project has taken place across two phases. The first ran between November 2016 and November 2017. It examined eight new-build high-density schemes of varying typologies, and allowed the researchers to develop a consistent methodology for assessing the lived experience of residents. The final techniques employed were online surveys, onsite interviews and focus groups with residents. The results were brought together in an unpublished internal technical document, on which this report draws (Scanlon et al, 2017c).

The GLA commissioned this second phase of research, which examined a further six high-density developments, bringing the total number to 14. This time, however, half of the case studies were historic, with the aim of learning lessons from various forms of 20th-century high-density design. During the Phase 2 fieldwork, the surveys, resident interviews and focus groups were supplemented with ‘key informant’ interviews and observations of common spaces (see below).

2.2. *Research questions*

Our research questions are:

- 1) How do residents experience living in high-density residential schemes in London, and how does this differ by tenure, household type, and the characteristics of the scheme?
- 2) What factors make such developments perform well or badly as homes?
- 3) What lessons can be drawn for London planning and housing policy?

We employed a mixed-methods approach, centred on case studies of 14 high-density schemes: 11 modern (built in the last ten years) and three historic, 20th-century schemes. For phase 1 of the project, we studied eight recently built, developing a methodology that we broadly followed in the second phase. This allowed us to combine results from both phases in our analysis.

2.3. *Case study selection*

The criteria for selecting the eight Phase 1 case studies were:

- *100+ dwellings per hectare*
- *Mix of building typologies*
- *Geographic spread*
- *Minimum 200 units*

We kept these criteria when selecting the six Phase 2 case studies, and added a further set:

- *Three built within the past 10 years, three historic*
- *At least one purpose-built Build to Rent scheme*

- *At least one scheme that incorporates retail or industrial uses*

The case studies were then identified using information from the London Development Database, ‘density hunting’ techniques developed in Phase 1, using Google Maps to remotely explore the city and locate suitable sites (Nowicki & White, 2017), and discussions with GLA officials. For the new schemes, we aimed to select developments that broadly represented the range of what has been built in London over the last decade or so. We were not looking specifically for examples of good or bad practice, and indeed knew very little about most of the case study developments initially.

For the historic estates, we wanted to choose three schemes built during different periods and in the same area, to control for neighbourhood effects. We did not set out to choose iconic examples, though the Millbank Estate and Lillington Gardens are well known to architectural historians and students of public policy.

The final list of case studies and their respective boroughs was:

Phase 1

East Village (Newham)
 Hale Village (Newham)
 Lanterns Court (Tower Hamlets)
 Pembury Circus (Hackney)
 Greenwich Creekside (Greenwich)
 Strata (Southwark)
 Barking Central (Barking & Dagenham)
 Stratford Halo (Newham)

Phase 2

New schemes

Thurston Point (Lewisham)
 Woodberry Down (Hackney)
 Woolwich Central (Greenwich)

Historic schemes (all Westminster)

Lillington Gardens
 Millbank Estate
 Tachbrook Estate

Detailed information about the case study sites appears in Section 4 and Annex B.

It is important to note that most of the schemes were approved before the introduction of the London Housing Design Standards¹. In the case of Thurston Point, planners did identify areas where it did not meet the then-emerging standards, but because the application was for renewal of an existing permission there was little scope to change it.

¹ The current versions of the standards appear in the 2016 London Plan and the Housing Supplementary Planning Guidance published in March 2016.

2.4. *Fieldwork*

The fieldwork for Phase 2 was carried out between December 2017 and April 2018.

1. *Site visits*: We visited each of the case study sites several times to photograph them and record information about access, facilities available to the public, and the character of the scheme and the surrounding area.
2. *Survey of residents*: Building upon the first phase, we developed an online survey consisting of a mix of closed and open questions on the following themes (survey text appears in Annex C):
 - Resident demographics
 - Household biographies and housing choices
 - Day-to-day life in the developments, and the pros and cons of high-density living
 - Belonging and the wider neighbourhood
 - Housing futures/trajectories

The final survey consisted of 57 questions (many of which were embedded, only appearing when certain options were selected) with both open and closed responses; potential responses to multiple-choice questions were shuffled. Where questions related to the age of developments, these were altered between the old and new developments. Ten questions specifically relating to Build to Rent were added for Thurston Point only.

The survey link was disseminated via letter to the flats in each development, with a reminder sent after seven days. For those developments with fewer than 500 units we posted an invitation to every flat, and to a sample of 500 in larger schemes. As an incentive to respond, residents could enter a prize draw for a gift voucher at John Lewis stores. At the end of the survey respondents could express interest in being contacted for further research, allowing us to recruit participants for the walking interviews and focus groups.

3. *Walking interviews with residents*: The aim was to be *shown*, as well as told, what was and wasn't working in the developments. Interviews therefore took place at, or nearby, residents' homes – generally involving a 'tour' of both their individual flats and the wider development. These were very open-ended, allowing for participants to focus on what they felt were the most important aspects, but we also asked them to reflect upon the biggest issues/benefits emerging from the survey for that particular development.
4. *Resident focus groups*: Across the two phases we convened three focus groups. Two were comprised of residents representing a mix of new developments, while the third was made up of residents from the three historic developments. There were generally around ten participants present for each. Following introductions and a brief review of the aims and scope of the research, the two-hour session consisted of two main activities:

- *'Mental Mapping'*: we asked participants to draw 'where you live' and explain what they had produced to the group. This use of mental mapping aimed to encourage participants to think as freely as possible about what constitutes 'where they live' and what they think are the most important aspects of their development and surrounding neighbourhood. We were particularly interested in the scale of participants' maps (would they draw just their flat, the development in its entirety, or the wider local area?), as well as what elements of life in their development they would focus on when unguided by survey or interview questions. Examples of mental maps appear in Annex E.
- *Examining the key issues raised in the survey*: We facilitated discussion to gain a more in-depth understanding of survey responses relating to the four core themes:
 - a. Development design/physical issues
 - b. Maintenance and management
 - c. Use of communal space and amenities
 - d. Family friendliness

We showed participants selected frequency distributions from the survey to spark discussion, but allowed plenty of room for them to bring up what they felt were the most important issues.

The workshop method successfully encouraged guided, yet spontaneous, interaction among residents from a mix of case study developments. It resulted in a useful discussion of key similarities and differences between the various developments.

5. *Semi-structured interviews with key informants*: In the second phase, we interviewed a variety of key informants involved with designing, planning or managing the different case study developments, including building managers, residents' groups, architects and planners. This had two main aims:
 - To understand what built environment professionals involved in the design of case studies envisioned for its residents.
 - To gain an insight into the day-to-day functioning of the development from a management/maintenance perspective

Interviews were semi-structured and broadly followed the themes of the survey. They took place at the developments themselves, in the offices of the respective organisations, or via phone.

6. *Structured observations*: For this study, we adopted the position of the marginal observer: a 'largely passive, though completely accepted, participant' (Robson, 2002). We developed a methodology involving three observation tools: the first one, a checklist, helped the notation of behaviours observed. For example, every time we saw a child, a tally was added to the table. Second, we used a map of the schemes to study the circulation of residents. This map also helped identify the access points within each scheme. Using a third table we followed the behaviours of 6-10 individuals picked randomly at the beginning of the observation and their actions in real time. Through these tools we captured the use of public space at different times of day across developments.

2.5. Analysis and drafting

7. *Mapping:* Working with a team of architects, we developed a set of maps that show the form and massing of each development, and set it in the context of the local transport network and neighbourhood. The set of maps is provided as a separate document.
8. *Workshop with experts.* We invited a group of experts, including architects, planners and consultants, to LSE at the end of the project to discuss the key findings and consider recommendations for policy and practice.
9. *Analysis of findings, and drafting of report and recommendations:* We produced frequency distributions for the quantitative survey questions and created several sets of cross-tabulations, most frequently by development, tenure, household type and new compared with the old scheme. These appear in figures and tables throughout the text below. They provide a framework for interpreting our qualitative findings (from in-depth focus groups, interviews and site visits), which explore the experience of density on an individual, day-to-day basis.

A note on the use of qualitative techniques

While statistics are effective at revealing broad trends, qualitative research allows for a greater understanding of the mechanisms behind these (Green et al, 2015). Quantitative techniques are helpful in demonstrating an association between variables, but generally cannot explain causal links between issues identified--for example, multiple choice survey questions revealed that noise and overheating were issues for many residents, but not why or how. Conversations with residents allowed us to explore the different physical and social circumstances behind these issues while eliciting otherwise invisible issues.

In addition, the aggregation of responses can mask the range and strength of views held by individual residents. Each community is more than the sum of its parts and there is competition and conflict between individuals, particularly when there is such diversity among respondents (Witcher, 1999). Using statistics alone may suggest that results are incontrovertible 'facts', while qualitative findings paint a more contingent, nuanced picture and can aid in assessing counterfactual situations or isolating effects, like social perception (Wong, 2014).

Our use of qualitative insights is particularly important given the small sample sizes in some schemes, which mean that data errors and random fluctuations can significantly affect the quantitative results (Haining, 2014).

3. Existing knowledge

Benchmarks for different 'levels' of density vary to some degree depending on source, but are generally around the following:

- **High Density** (UK studies): ~100 dwellings or 400-plus habitable rooms per hectare (e.g. Bretherton & Pleace (JRF & CIH), 2008; Dempsey et al, 2012).
- **Superdensity**: 150 dwellings per hectare or ~500 habitable rooms or above (e.g. London First, 2015).
- **Hyperdensity**: 350+ dwellings per hectare or around 1,100 habitable rooms per hectare (e.g. NLA, 2015).

The literature (e.g. Gordon et al, 2016) acknowledges that measuring density is a complex and ambiguous task. The widespread failure to understand density beyond a simple ratio of units to area has been repeatedly raised as a concern (e.g. Bokyo and Cooper, 2011). Densities of development, housing units and population are all different, moreover the size of area being considered can radically affect both perceptions and results.

3.1. Recent LSE research

In Phase 1 of this research we found that many residents saw their developments as successful, emphasising high levels of convenience and accessibility (Scanlon, White & Nowicki 2017). Those mentioning problems often cited issues with physical design, many of which could in principle easily be solved or avoided. These included noise, overheating and lack of storage. The lived experience of high-density housing was found to be largely unrelated to residents' associations with density as a concept—in fact, participants tended not to recognise their developments as being high-density.

There were significant differences in residents' experiences and attitudes from one high-density scheme to another. These differences seemed to reflect locational, design and demographic factors rather than density per se. This variation was particularly evident with regard to residents' experience of community and neighbourhood belonging. Those who lived in larger, more self-contained schemes tended to be more positive about these aspects. However, the study also revealed a general sense of disconnection from surrounding neighbourhoods, especially for developments located in more disadvantaged parts of the city.

Most Phase 1 respondents (tenants as well as owner-occupiers) had made a positive choice to live in these developments, and many said the homes worked well for their current household configuration and life stage. The Phase 1 findings did raise some concerns about the suitability of these types of development for all types of household. There was a general view that living in them with a family would be financially challenging and that the built form did not accommodate children's needs—and indeed, relatively few of the respondents had children.

3.2. Other recent research into density in London

There have been a range of other studies of residential density in recent years, responding to the financial, environmental and demographic factors that have driven density up in major cities across the world. In London, the GLA recently commissioned a suite of reports about density. One of these, by the Three Dragons consultancy (2016), had some parallels with our proposed research. They also looked at several high-density schemes in London but focused much more on technical performance than on resident experience. Two other reports, looking at defining and measuring density and ways of regulating it, were written by LSE colleagues (Gordon et al 2016; Gordon and Whitehead 2016).

High-density accommodation is not just a recent phenomenon. LSE Cities first examined residential density in London in 2003. The report (Burdett et al 2004) looked in detail at five densely populated wards outside central London. These tended to consist of ladders of parallel streets with small Victorian terraced houses, sometimes mixed with social housing estates. At that time residential densities in high-rise (usually social housing) blocks were not particularly high, as most were surrounded by green space. That research found that ‘London, with a relatively young population make-up, with more than one-third of its population born outside the UK, and with its dense network of public transport, would be likely to support relatively high residential densities.’ Now, more than a decade on and with 40 per cent of London residents foreign born, this prediction has been borne out.

More recently, LSE London carried out two studies of the quality of life in two high-density new London developments in Croydon and Blackheath for developer Berkeley Homes (Scanlon et al 2015a and 2015b); a further such study looked at the Goodmans Fields scheme in Aldgate (Scanlon et al 2017b). These concluded that an emphasis on place-making during the master planning phase, and targeted efforts to create social ties, could help generate a feeling of community in new neighbourhoods, but that there was often no shared understanding about which organisation or people should be responsible for this or how it should be funded.

3.3. What is good density?

Accepted views about what ‘good’ density is have changed over time in line with architectural fashion, urban evolution and the use and maintenance of buildings. Many historic high-density neighbourhoods that are today thriving and successful were at one time slums—e.g. parts of Notting Hill. And some of the estates that have been or soon will be demolished, despite their relatively recent construction, were regarded as exemplars when they were built (e.g. Robin Hood Gardens, Heygate Estate).

Perceptions of good density are also culturally specific (Alexander, 1993). It is normal and unremarkable in Hong Kong and Singapore for families to live in apartment blocks at extremely high densities. The conclusions we draw about what makes good density inevitably reflect our own time and place and should not be seen as absolutes.

What factors have scholars identified as contributing to good (or bad) density? Most follow on from the general principles of good urban form and can apply equally to any type of dwelling, including single-family homes. Some can be more challenging to

achieve in higher-density environments; others (eg access to shops, services and transport) are easier to provide.

- *Safe and convenient access to homes.* This factor seems obvious but there have been remarkably divergent views about what ‘safe’ and ‘convenient’ mean in practice—not least because there can be a tension between the two goals. Also we need to ask for whom access should be safe and convenient—for residents only, or for outsiders as well?

1960s urban design norms recommended the physical separation of pedestrians and cars, leading to deck-access developments such as the Heygate Estate (or indeed the Barbican). Some of these were later condemned as confusing and dangerous, providing easy access for criminals. Later experts, most notably Alice Coleman, emphasised the passive surveillance of ‘eyes on the street’. The publication of the architect Oscar Newman's ‘defensible space’ theory in the early 1970s took this turn against modernist forms of housing further. Newman argued that the communal areas cut off from the street in high-density tower blocks and estates (e.g. stairwells, lifts and internal corridors) increased the likelihood of crime and antisocial behaviour.

Do locked gates and key-entry systems make developments safer? Newer schemes almost always control access to individual buildings, and some developments have gated access to at least some external areas. From the point of view of the urban realm, urbanists currently prefer that schemes be permeable to pedestrians—that is, that they knit into the urban fabric rather than forming a closed space. Residents, though, may have a very different view, especially if they live on the ground or first floors. They may find through pedestrian traffic annoying or even threatening.

- *Effective management.* Most high-density schemes comprise blocks of flats. In contrast to individual houses, it is usually impractical and often impossible for residents to manage the common physical plant of blocks of flats: they must rely on professional managers. This means that much of the experience of living in a place—everything outside the door of an individual’s flat—depends strongly on the quality and responsiveness of the management and on the resources they have.

Quality of management is not just about the efficient control of physical issues. As importantly, housing managers must deal with residents. They are of course ‘customers’ of the managers’ services, but arguably a good manager will also look after the social cohesion of the community. Residents value the physical presence of responsible, known employees, be they concierges, building managers or neighbourhood wardens (Stockdale et al 2005).

- *Easy access to shops and services.* One of the arguments for increasing densities in urban areas is that higher-density neighbourhoods have a critical mass of residents to support local shops and public services—ideally within walking distance. Again this seems obvious but there are plenty of examples of housing built at some distance from services (eg early stages of Thamesmead). The current emphasis on mixed use means larger schemes usually incorporate some retail or commercial uses.

- *Safe external play space.* The assumption here is that high-density housing will (or should) accommodate all types of household, including those with children. Play space need not necessarily take the form of dedicated playgrounds. Jane Jacobs, writing of her neighbourhood in New York City in the 1950s, recommended that pavements should be at least 20 feet wide to allow for children's games. The spatial relationship between the play space and the dwelling is important – many studies have shown that parents living in tower blocks can be reluctant to let younger children play outside, even if there is a play area next to the building, because they cannot observe the children playing or hear them shout if there was a problem.
- *Access to the outdoors.* The wave of construction of Victorian parks was partly designed to provide places where poor slum-dwellers could enjoy being outdoors. There is a large body of research about the importance of trees, sunlight, etc. to health and wellbeing. Current rules require that every dwelling have access to outdoor space—in blocks of flats this usually means a balcony.

In terms of green space, for individual buildings the location is determining: they are either close to a park or the river or they are not.. But multi-building developments usually do include open space—what should it be used for? How should it be designed? Should it be for residents only, or for the wider community?

- *Daylight.* Traditionally plans have requirements for proportions of window space, and/or dual aspect homes. Architects consider this and there are rules about overshadowing, and models of angles and movement of the sun at different times of day and year. Daylight is related to views—generally the higher the floor the better the view, and the more light. The current design trend is for floor-to-ceiling windows, which are almost universal in new developments. They do bring in a lot of light but limit placement of furniture and contribute to a feeling of exposure.
- *Suitable provision for cars.* Of course, even with excellent public transport at least some people will have cars. How should they be handled? One 1960s solution, still seen on many social housing estates, was street-level garages and podium or deck-access blocks of flats. This often produces a forbidding environment at ground level. Many high-value urban schemes now incorporate underground car parking. This frees the ground level for other uses and potentially improves its contribution to the public realm but is very expensive to build.
- *Practical issues when many people share a small space.* The main one is noise. The higher the density the more important it is to give thought to these issues, as the actions of one individual can affect dozens or even hundreds of their neighbours.
- *Practical issues in small dwellings.* High-density housing does not necessarily mean the dwellings have to be small but in practice they very often are. Storage space is often compromised.

Many of these factors are covered in the draft *London Plan's* Policy D4 Housing quality and standards. Crucially though, none of these factors are questions purely of design—they arise from the interaction of the design and the occupant. The quality of a high-density residential environment is not a fixed thing but depends partly on who is living in

it, both in terms of whether the environment suits a particular individual or household *and* how those households affect the environment. If individuals actively choose to live in higher-density schemes then we can assume that they prefer the lifestyle, or at least that they are willing to accept the trade-offs involved. As architects know, the best design for homes responds to the needs of the people who will live in them. It is difficult then to set out broad-brush requirements for all schemes based on known characteristics of the structure, when equally important (but unknown) is who will live in it.

In the social sense, scholars agree that a strong sense of community is desirable, though this naturally can take time to develop on a new scheme. Good design might contribute to this but is not a prerequisite—there are very strong communities on lots of estates with problems of design or build quality.

‘Good management’ in the physical sense is discussed above. Is there (should there be) a parallel requirement for good management of the social fabric--or is that paternalistic? ‘Management’ might not be the right word as it implies external and top-down while arguably in the most socially successful places the residents themselves take care of this.

4. The case study sites

This section presents brief summary information about our 14 case-study sites: eight from Phase 1 and six from Phase 2 (three recent, three historic). Fuller information about the Phase 2 case-study sites can be found in Annex B.

4.1. Phase 1



Barking Central
Mixed-use redevelopment characterised by brightly coloured balconies.



Lanterns Court
White clad scheme with circular tower in London's densest ward.



East Village
Mid-rise courtyard blocks, built as Athletes' Village for 2012 Olympics.



Pembury Circus
On the site of a Hackney council estate, now a car-free development.



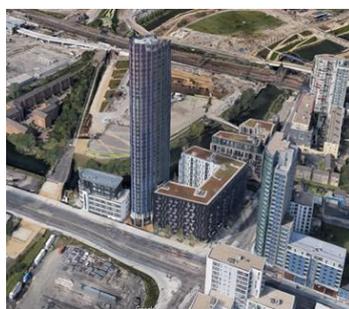
Greenwich Creekside
Angular, light blue buildings beside Deptford Creek and the Laban Dance Centre.



Strata
Landmark tower at Elephant and Castle with three windmills at the top.



Hale Village
Tottenham's 'urban village' that prides itself on sustainable design.



Stratford Halo
43-storey blue-and-purple clad tower on Stratford High Street, surrounded by lower blocks.

4.2. Phase 2

New schemes

Woodberry Down

Woodberry Down, close to Manor House station, is an eight-phase estate regeneration project that started in 2007 and will be completed in 2035, by which time 5,500 new homes across 64 acres will have been built. This massive development comprises a mix of high- to mid-rise buildings, all looking towards two London Wildlife Trust managed reservoirs.



Woolwich Central

Woolwich Central, located three minutes from Woolwich Arsenal station, is built atop Europe's largest Tesco. It notoriously won the Carbuncle Cup for Britain's worst architecture in 2014. The building surveyed houses phases one and two of a four-phase high-density scheme. Despite its blocky exterior, Woolwich Central houses an intricate mix of public and private spaces.

Thurston Point

Thurston Point is an (almost) all-rental scheme. The operator is social landlord L&Q but most of the units are rented at market rents. It is sandwiched between two busy train lines and an A-road, at the far north end of the Lewisham Gateway development by Lewisham Station. It is characterised by black and white cladding and a number of irregularly placed rooftop units that look like shipping containers, each of which houses a flat.



Historic schemes

Millbank Estate

The Millbank Estate was built between 1897 and 1902 by the London County Council to rehouse Londoners displaced by the building of Kingsway. The Grade II-listed estate, located directly behind the Tate Britain, is regarded as a masterpiece of Arts and Crafts design. Its handsome seven-storey brick blocks are arranged around austere pedestrian courtyards. The estate is now owned by Westminster Council. Many of the units were purchased by tenants under Right to Buy and private flats now change hands for up to £1 million.



Tachbrook Estate

The Tachbrook Estate in Pimlico houses a stable community made up mostly of social tenants, including some families who have lived on the estate for three generations. It was built in three phases between the 1930s and 1950s and was taken over by Peabody in 1972. Its 14 six- to eight-storey brick, deck-access buildings are named for significant figures in Westminster history including Christopher Wren.

Lillington Gardens

The subject of an open architectural competition, Lillington Gardens was constructed between 1961 and 1980. Known for its staggered elevations, generous courtyard style green spaces and red-brown brick, it is widely regarded as an archetypal high-density, low-rise scheme. It is the one of the last high-density public housing schemes built in London during the post-war period. It takes influence from the church of St James the Less (completed 1861), around which it was built. The entire estate was designated a conservation area in 1990, and is now owned and managed by CityWest Homes.



Summary information about case studies

Table 1 below presents summary information about the 14 case studies. Two of the headings require some explanation.

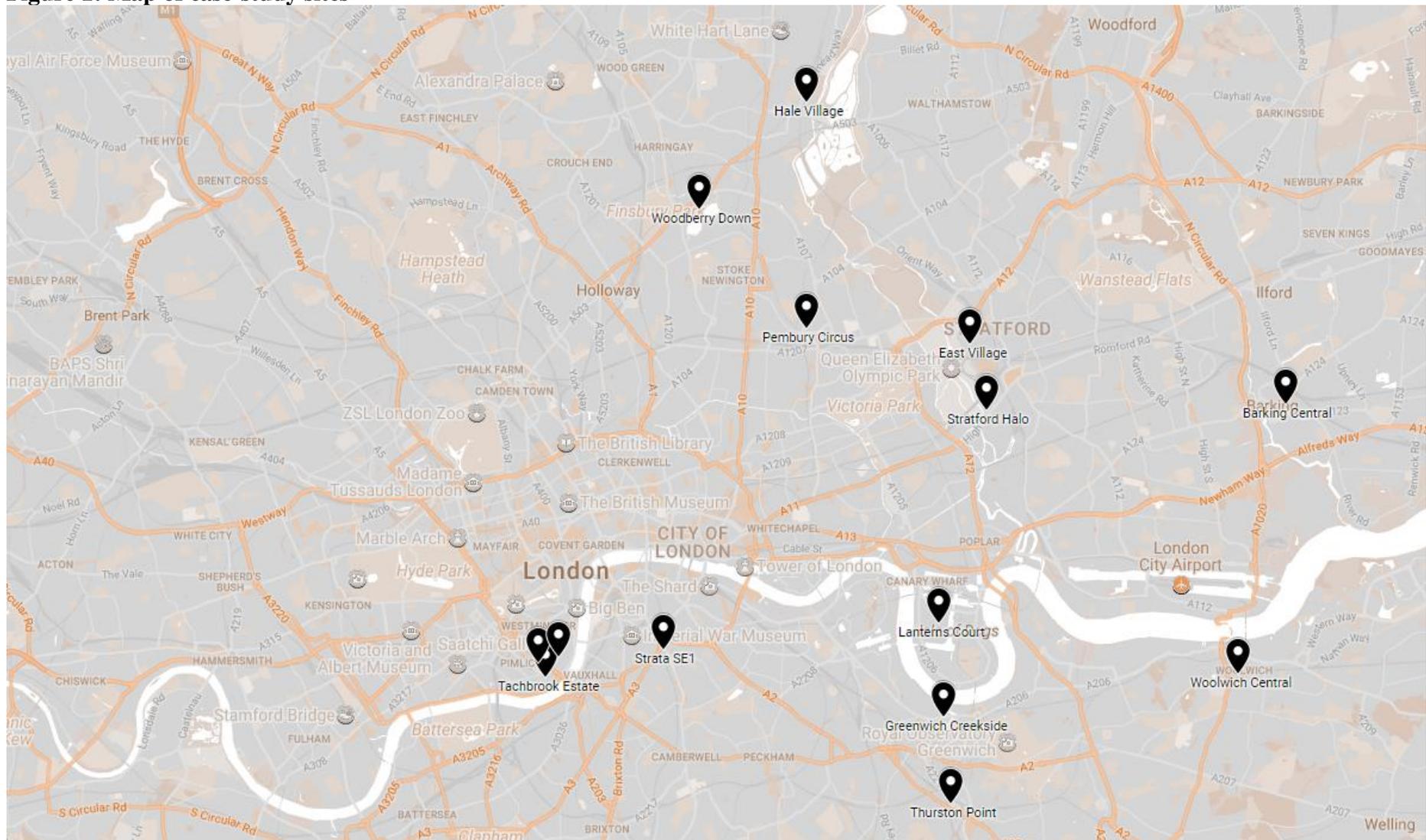
Density is measured based on the 'net residential site area' as referenced in the London Plan. This refers to the 'red line' planning application site boundary. It generally includes the development's housing, non-residential uses in mixed-use buildings, ancillary uses, internal access roads and car and cycle parking areas. It also generally includes the on-site open spaces (including those that are publicly accessible), children's play areas and gardens (London Plan Housing SPG, 2016). It generally excludes the adjoining footways, paths, canals, rivers, railway corridors, carriageways and similar open spaces.

PTAL stands for Public Transport Accessibility Level. It is a measure used by the GLA and Transport for London to rate site accessibility, and is based on distance from frequent public transport services. The scale runs from 1 (the least accessible) to 6b (the most accessible).

Table 1: summary information about case study sites*Alphabetical by scheme name*

Name	Borough	No units & density	Number of buildings and heights	Tenure mix	Completed/ occupied	PTAL
<i>New schemes</i>						
Barking Central	Barking & Dagenham	516 units 403dph	7 buildings between 6 and 17 storeys	Mixed	2010	5
East Village	Newham	2,818 units 147dph	63 buildings between 8 and 12 storeys	Almost all rental, some shared ownership	2013	3
Greenwich Creekside	Lewisham	371 units 334dph	4 buildings between 8 and 17 storeys	Mixed	2012	4
Hale Village	Haringey	1,200 units 243dph	12 buildings between 3 and 11 storeys	Mixed	2013	2
Lanterns Court	Tower Hamlets	656 units 532dph	3 buildings between 4 and 18 storeys	Mixed	2011	4
Pembury Circus	Hackney	268 units 202dph	3 buildings between 5 and 10 storeys	Mixed	2014	2
Strata SE1	Southwark	408 units 1,295dph	Single 43-storey tower (148 metres)	Mixed	2010	3
Stratford Halo	Newham	704 units 670dph	3 buildings: 2 medium rise (7/10 storeys) and one high-rise tower of 43 storeys (133.10m)	Mostly market rent + social rent & shared ownership in wider scheme	2013	2
Thurston Point	Lewisham	406 units 390dph	2 buildings: 15 storey tower, 8/9 storey courtyard block	Mostly market rent (325 shared ownership)	2015	6b
Woodberry Down	Hackney	835 units 243dph	9 buildings between 5 and 30 storeys (Kick Start Sites 1 & 2)	Mixed	2011	5
Woolwich Central	Greenwich	304 units (phases 1 & 2 of 4), 420dph	6 blocks up to 17 storeys above large Tesco	Private and intermediate	2014	6b
<i>Historic schemes</i>						
Lillington Gardens	Westminster	777 units 194dph	13 buildings between 3 and 8 storeys, courtyard structures	Originally social rented, now some RTB	1980	6b
Millbank Estate	Westminster	562 units 141 dph	17 buildings of 4-5 storeys	Originally social rented, now some RTB	1902	4
Tachbrook Estate	Westminster	427 units 225dph	14 buildings between 2 and 7 storeys	Mostly social rented	1947	5

Figure 1: Map of case-study sites



5. Findings

In this section we present findings from our empirical work (interviews, observations and surveys²). We set out general features of the schemes, and review respondents' views about the advantages and drawbacks of living in high-density housing. Where it seemed relevant we have broken responses down by scheme, tenure, age of development and/or household composition.

In the text, frequency distributions and cross-tabulations from the survey are complemented by more qualitative material from interviews, focus groups, observations and free-text responses from the survey itself. These quotes and descriptions help to explain what is behind the quantitative findings, and add detail and nuance. We were particularly interested in understanding whether and how problematic aspects of high-density living could be improved, so the questionnaire contained follow-up questions asking respondents who expressed dissatisfaction to explain the reasons for it. Our face-to-face interactions with residents had a similar focus. We therefore collected much more material about the problems of high-density living than about its benefits.

Survey responses

There were 517 responses overall to our survey from the 14 case-study areas (see table 2), but not all respondents answered every question. Response rates varied by scheme and it is well understood that certain groups (older people, ethnic minorities, low-income households) are less likely to respond to web-based surveys, and as that suggests, there were more responses from new schemes than old ones.

Given the differences in response rates across schemes and by income and tenure this should not be seen as a representative sample of residents, but was our best attempt given the time and resources available. It is possible to weight survey responses to try to address the underrepresentation of certain identified groups, but we have not done so in this case.

In the discussions that follow, breakdowns based on fewer than 30 responses should be regarded as indicative only (shaded cells in Table 2).

² Most of the numbers are based on the full dataset of surveys from Phases 1 and 2, covering 11 new developments and 3 historic schemes. Where the data cover a smaller number of schemes (e.g. because we added a question for Phase 2) this is noted.

Table 2: Number of survey responses by scheme

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>Response rate</i>
Barking Central	27	5.4%
East Village	42	8.4%
Greenwich Creekside	58	15.6%
Hale Village	52	10.4%
Lanterns Court	29	5.8%
Lillington Gardens	20	4.2%
Millbank Estate	34	6%
Pembury Circus	34	12.7%
Strata	39	9.6%
Stratford Halo	32	6.4%
Tachbrook Estate	16	5%
Thurston Point	33	8.1%
Woodberry Down	65	13%
Woolwich Central	36	14.4%
Total	517	8.5%

The findings are presented in six subsections:

- who lives in these schemes,
- choosing a home, neighbourhood and community,
- issues to do with built form,
- management, amenities and service charges,
- other advantages and disadvantages of high-density living, and
- Build to Rent vs buy-to-let.

5.1 Who lives in the case-study schemes?

Tenure

Overall ownership (including shared ownership) was about 50% across all the schemes. This probably overstates the true figure; our stakeholder interviews, and other research we have done on similar developments (eg Scanlon & Walmsley 2016, Scanlon et al 2017b), indicates that new high-density developments tend to have higher proportions of private tenants.

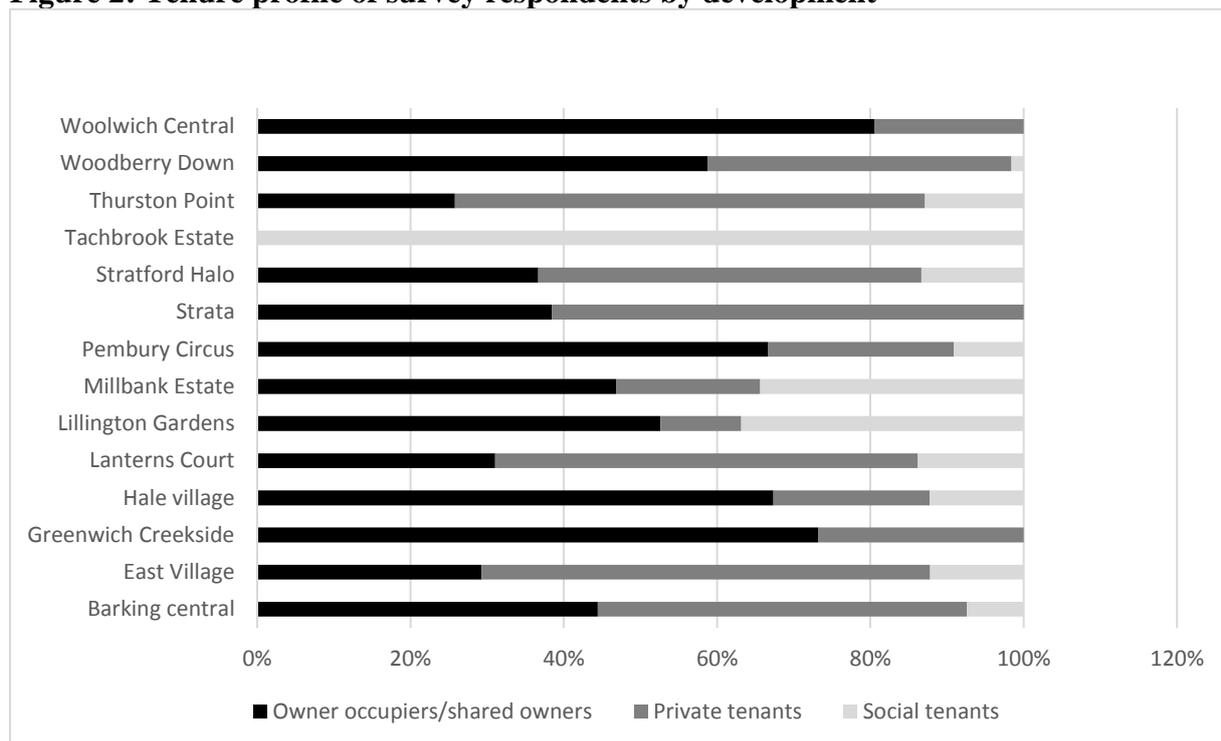
Table 3: Tenure of survey respondents

	<i>Tenure</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>London overall</i>
OWNED	Ownership	178	35%	50%
	Shared ownership	74	14%	
RENTED	Rented - private	178	35%	27%
	Rented - social landlord	62	12%	23%
	Other/don't know	23	4%	
	Total	515	100%	

Source of benchmark figures: data.london.gov.uk

Except for the Tachbrook Estate (100% social tenants), all of our case-study sites had at least some tenure mix (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Tenure profile of survey respondents by development



Resident household size, age and household type

Overall 78% of respondents lived in households with one or two persons, rather more than in London as a whole where 61% of households have one or two people³. Household size varied by scheme: 63% of Tachbrook respondents were in single-person households, while 69% of Thurston Point respondents were in two-person households (though not necessarily ‘couples’—about 20% were adult sharers).

The highest proportions of households with three or more residents were at East Village (38%) and Woodberry Down (31%), and the lowest at Woolwich Central (11%). Clearly this is partly a function of unit size, particularly number of bedrooms—at East Village, for example, the original goal was to attract families and there is a high proportion of larger homes.

Our survey indicated that residents of the new schemes are predominantly younger people, while the historic schemes house older households. In all of the new schemes, most residents were under 40. Barking Central and Pembury Circus both had a striking concentration of residents in their 30s: 79% of respondents at Barking Central and 71% in Pembury Circus.

By contrast more than 55% of respondents from the Millbank and Tachbrook estates were over the age of 50, and 45% of those in Lillington Gardens. The highest proportions of over-50s in the new schemes were found in Hale Village and Woodberry Down (both with 13%).

This distinction is not unexpected—some people moved in to the older schemes a long time ago and stayed, either as social tenants (with tenure security) or owner-occupiers (after right

³ Some 13% of individuals in London live in single-person households, and 24% live in two-person households. We asked survey respondents to complete one form per household.

to buy). The new schemes are all mainly market homes; they do incorporate affordable housing but not all of it is social housing and indeed some schemes have no social housing at all.

Some 14% of households responding to our survey had children. This compares to 31% of London households overall. Of our respondents with children, 67% had a single child. The proportion of owner-occupiers with children was the same as for the overall sample, at 14% (Table 4). Social tenants were twice as likely to have children (29%) and private tenants much less likely (8%).

Table 4: Households with children by tenure

	<i>Owner occupiers (including shared owners)</i>	<i>Private tenants</i>	<i>Social and affordable tenants</i>
Number of households	254	184	58
Number with children	35	14	17
% with children	14%	8%	29%

The lowest proportions of households with children were found in Stratford Halo (3%) and Strata (5%), both of which are towers. In four of the new schemes, over 20% of respondents had children: Barking Central, Thurston Point, Lanterns Court and Pembury Circus. The proportion was a bit lower at East Village (19%), even though the original goal of the corporate landlord was to attract families with children to rent privately there.

Table 5: Percentage of respondents with children

<i>London households overall</i>	<i>31%</i>
Barking Central	22%
Thurston Point	21%
Lanterns Court	21%
Pembury Circus	21%
East Village	19%
Tachbrook Estate	19%
Woodberry Down	12%
Millbank Estate	12%
Greenwich Creekside	10%
Lillington Gardens	10%
Woolwich Central	8%
Hale Village	8%
Strata	5%
Stratford Halo	3%
Overall	14%

Source of London figure: 2011 census

Some 79% of respondents were white—a higher proportion than in London overall, where 59% of residents are white. The most ethnically diverse scheme was Woolwich Central (64% white) while the least was Millbank (88% white).

In Phase 2 we added a question about country of origin. About 60% of respondents were from the UK, with the bulk of the rest from elsewhere in Europe (Table 6). This could understate the proportion of non-UK residents, who might be less likely to respond to questionnaires. Even so, the sample of respondents is more international than London's population as a whole, which is estimated to be 77% British (ONS Annual Population Survey 2016).

Table 6: Respondents' regions of origin

<i>Phase 2 only</i>	
<i>Region</i>	<i>% of respondents (117 total)</i>
UK	59%
Western Europe	14%
Eastern Europe	13%
Americas	6%
East Asia	6%
Middle East & Africa	1%
India & Pakistan	2%
Total	100%

Household incomes and expenditure on housing

There was a wide range of household incomes amongst Phase 2 respondents, from 8% who reported incomes of less than £10,000 per annum to 6% saying they earned over £150,000⁴. For comparison, the median household income in London in 2012/13 was estimated at £39,110 (London Datastore).

Table 7 gives a breakdown of our sample by broad income bands.

Table 7: Household incomes

<i>Phase 2 only</i>	
<i>Income band</i>	<i>% of those who responded to question (156)</i>
Up to £30,000	25%
£30-60,000	22%
£60-90,000	25%
Over £90,000	28%

The proportion of household income paid for housing cost varied widely across schemes (Table 8). In several schemes a high proportion of households spent more on housing than the widely accepted benchmark of 1/3 of income. This was most notable at Thurston Point, where 57% of respondents said they spent more than 1/3 of their income on rent.

⁴ This question was designed to capture the income of all earners in a home, so e.g., a household income of £90,000 could be one individual earning that salary, or three individuals earning £30,000.

Table 8: Housing costs as % of household income, by scheme*Phase 2 only*

	<i>Historic</i>			<i>New</i>		
	<i>Lillington Gardens</i>	<i>Millbank Estate</i>	<i>Tachbrook Estate</i>	<i>Thurston Point</i>	<i>Woodberry Down</i>	<i>Woolwich Central</i>
Less than one third	23%	45%	11%	0%	30%	25%
About one third	38%	18%	22%	43%	45%	25%
More than one third	23%	36%	44%	57%	25%	44%
Rather not say	15%	0%	22%	0%	0%	6%

5.2 Choosing a home, and the importance of neighbourhood and community

Main reasons for choosing this dwelling, and most valued features of home

Respondents were asked to choose their top three reasons for moving to this home. Transport was by far the most important factor, chosen by 68% of respondents. Interestingly, the actual location of the scheme or its proximity to work, school or services were much less important. The other major factors—at some distance behind—were price (43%) and liking the neighbourhood (33%).

Table 9: Reasons for choosing this particular home (respondents could choose three)

<i>Factor</i>	<i>% citing (481 respondents)</i>
Transport links	68%
Price	43%
I like the neighbourhood	33%
Size of flat	27%
Proximity to work/university/college/school	22%
Central location	22%
Safety/security of development	15%
Access to local services	12%
Communal facilities	6%

Some quotes from residents give insight into the factors behind their decisions. A private tenant in their 20s, living at Thurston Point, said ‘I knew that the local area wasn’t great for restaurants/shops etc but consciously prioritised having an affordable modern flat with good transport links.’ At Woodberry Down, an owner-occupier in their 20s said the best things about their home were that it was ‘Amazingly close to public transport’ and a ‘clean modern apartment,’ and added ‘a Sainsbury’s has opened since we purchased the property and other shops and cafes have opened which is nice.’ In East Village, one resident praised the ‘Open green spaces, peace and quiet (compared to the rest of London!), spacious and well-designed

flat, convenience of having everything on your doorstep (Westfield, dry cleaning, restaurants, hair salon, etc.) and the brilliant transport links.’

Although marketing material for new developments often emphasises communal facilities such as gyms, co-working spaces and roof gardens, these were rarely cited as affirmative reasons to move somewhere.

Unsurprisingly, what respondents say they value in a home (Table 10) is closely aligned to the reasons they chose their dwelling in the first place. The three aspects most often cited, by some margin, were transport, neighbourhood safety (related to liking the neighbourhood) and affordability. More community-oriented considerations such as proximity to family and friends, living somewhere child friendly and a sense of community were only cited by a minority of respondents.

Table 10: Most important aspects of a home (respondents could choose three)

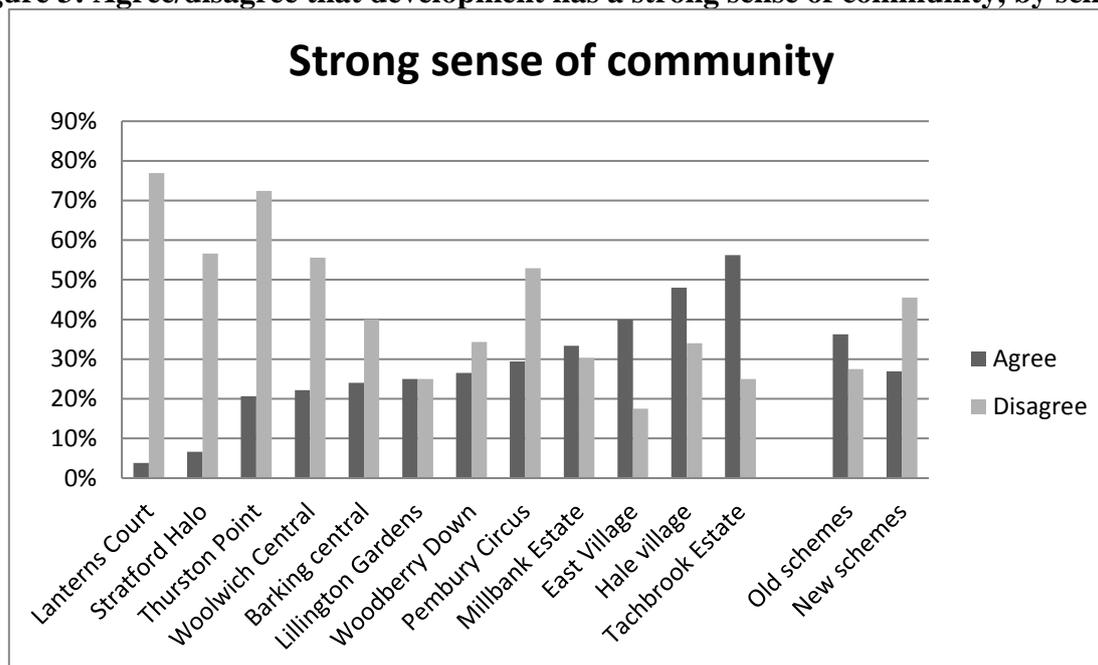
	<i>% of respondents (411)</i>
Living somewhere with good transport links	57%
Feeling safe in the neighbourhood	47%
Affordability	45%
Having a home I can settle in for the long term	28%
Being close to local services	27%
Having a home that is spacious	25%
Having the opportunity to own my own home	23%
Being close to work	20%
Having outdoor space	20%
Having a good view	13%
Being close to family and friends	11%
Somewhere that is child-friendly	9%
Knowing my neighbours/sense of community	6%
A good local nightlife	3%

The accepted wisdom is that high-density residential schemes should be located in areas with good transport accessibility, and most of our case-study sites are—per Table 1, the average PTAL rating was 4 (with 6b being the top). Most respondents do not own a car (see below). However some residents commented that rapidly increasing local populations had strained transport services. One resident of Greenwich Creekside said, ‘Development in infrastructure hasn’t followed the growth in number of inhabitants (e.g. DLR is now a nightmare in the morning...).’ Asked what they disliked about living at Hale Village, one respondent said simply ‘Tube station overcrowding.’

Sense of community in the development

There was a wide range of responses to the question of whether the schemes had a good sense of community, with East Village, Hale Village and the Tachbrook Estate standing out for a positive response, and Lanterns Court and Stratford Halo for a negative one.

Figure 3: Agree/disagree that development has a strong sense of community, by scheme



Social tenants were much more likely to report strong sense of community, with private tenants least likely (Table 11)—although even amongst social tenants this was not a majority view. The fact that social tenants generally have lived in their homes for longer is likely to have played a role here: some 31% of social tenants had been in their flats for more than 10 years, vs only 5% of owner-occupiers and 0% of private tenants. Perceptions of community were also related to income (itself related to housing tenure), with households with lower incomes more likely to agree that their developments had a strong sense of community.

PRS tenants were more likely than those in other tenures to say there was a lack of community feel in their development, with 57% holding this view.

Table 11: ‘there is a strong sense of community in this development’ by tenure

All schemes except Strata SE1 and Greenwich Creekside

Tenure	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Ownership including shared ownership	29%	33%	37%
Private rented	19%	24%	57%
Social rented	45%	23%	32%

There was an obvious difference in perceptions of community between parents and non-parents: 49% of families with children said their development had a strong sense of community, vs 25% of households without children.

A minority of residents in both new and old schemes agreed that there was a strong sense of community, but residents of newer schemes were more likely to disagree (46% vs 28%).

Interestingly, respondents from a range of schemes said it mattered little to them whether or not there was a sense of community within their development, as they were members of other, non-place-based communities across London (or even virtually). As one shared owner at Woolwich Central said, ‘I think that a community is there, though I wouldn’t necessarily

seek out a close friendship with most people in the building just off the back of them being in the building.’ A Woodberry Down owner-occupier in their 30s put it more strongly still, saying ‘... I like anonymity so the lack of community feel is a positive to me. I have no desire to know my neighbours.’

Number of people known in the development

There seemed to be two major factors associated with knowing people in the development: having children and length of time living in the same place. Across all schemes, 29% of respondents said they didn’t know anyone else in the development and 29% knew 1-3 people. The longer people lived in a place the more people they said they knew, so respondents that had lived in their homes for more than 40 years (all in historic schemes) tended to know at least 7 people. Nobody who had been resident for more than 10 years said they knew no one. The differences in terms of scheme were stark: on the Tachbrook Estate, 57% of respondents knew at least 7 people while at Lanterns Court 55% of respondents knew no one else. East Village and Hale Village both scored highly on the number of people known. One Hale Village resident said, ‘I know more than 10 people in my building - a rarity in London, as I didn’t know any of my neighbours when I moved to other parts of London.’

Only 6% of households with children said they knew nobody else in their development, vs 32% of households without children. Households with several children tended to know more people but the numbers are very small. Private tenants know fewest people (77% know three or fewer) while social tenants know most (50% know at least seven).

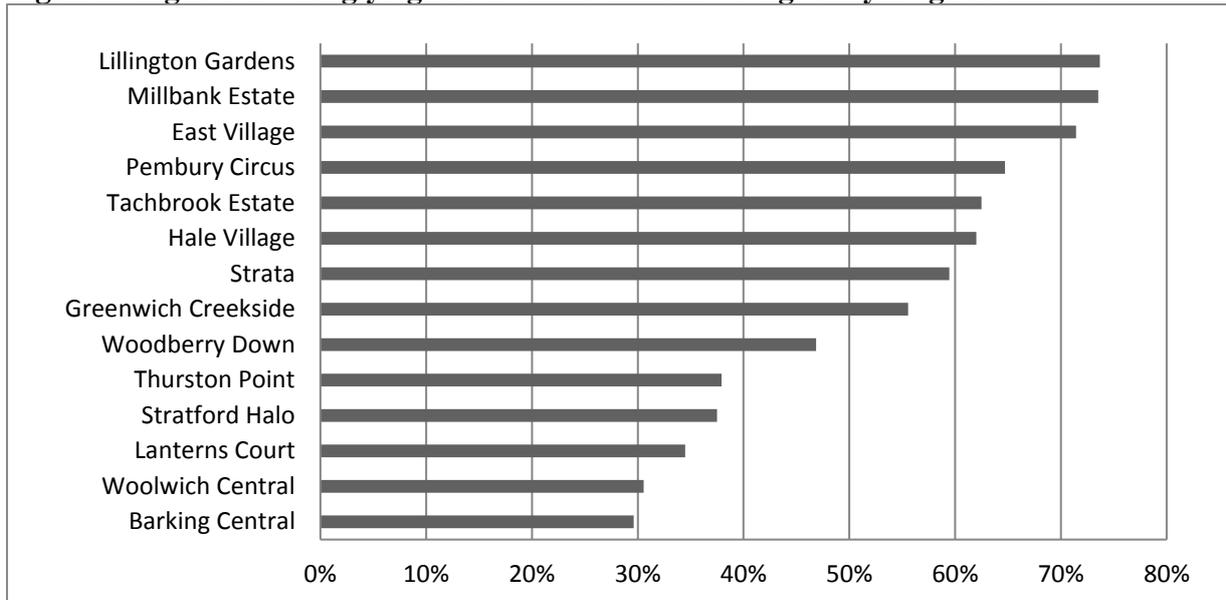
Sense of belonging to the neighbourhood

There was a range of perceptions of belonging to the wider neighbourhood, with the residents of two Pimlico estates and East Village feeling the greatest sense of belonging, and Barking Central and Woolwich Central households the least (Figure 4).

East Village and Hale Village residents cited the ‘self-contained’ nature of their developments for promoting a sense of neighbourhood belonging, with several comments about independent businesses reinforcing the local character. The largely positive comments about the neighbourhoods around Pembury Circus, Greenwich Creekside, Lillington Gardens and Millbank Estate often referenced ‘hip’ local culture and/or heritage.

Both Barking Central and Woolwich Central, which scored poorly on this question, are located in relatively deprived areas. In qualitative research, residents expressed a sense of separation from their surroundings; complaints included concerns about crime, dirtiness, and/or poor-quality retail outlets and cafes. Some said that if it weren’t for the connectivity, they wouldn’t be living in those locations. Several respondents said they were unhappy living close to social tenants and/or impoverished communities in the local area; by contrast, others said they saw themselves as agents of gentrification, which made them uncomfortable. Some residents of Lanterns Court said that, rather than feeling excluded from the local area, there was no ‘neighbourhood’ as such for them to feel part of.

Figure 4: Agree or strongly agree that ‘I feel like I belong to my neighbourhood’



Our respondents were aware of the tenure mixes in their schemes. Some actively favoured mixed communities—one Millbank resident praised the estate’s ‘diversity of residents (mixture of private tenants, social tenants, leaseholders, families, elderly, young)...’. Others said a mix of tenures (and by extension of incomes) created potential tensions. A private tenant at Woodberry Down spoke of their ‘sense of (the) fragmented nature of previous/historic tenants of the area and the new “posh” people.’ A few respondents made comments criticising the behaviour of social tenants; others, in contrast, expressed an uncomfortable sense of separation from them. One Pembury Circus respondent said ‘I don’t like the fact that the social housing has been separated out into another block, which seems to have lower specs [specifications] than our blocks. Everyone in my block is exactly the same, the same age, the same race, the same professions...’

Several respondents said it was harder to create community in schemes with a preponderance of private tenants as they lacked long-term commitment to an area. This sentiment was echoed by comments about young PRS residents being more likely to socialise elsewhere – with their ‘community’ being unrelated to the location of their flat. Others felt concerned about high levels of overseas ownership of rented flats, particularly in the case of Woodberry Down.

Very short-term renting through channels such as Airbnb is forbidden in some schemes but respondents from several developments, both old and new, identified it as an issue. It is easier to identify in settled communities such as the Pimlico schemes as residents are more likely to know their neighbours.

Several schemes had online forums or Facebook groups: some of these were hardly used while others seemed to serve as the backbone of the community. Woolwich Central stands out for having a particularly active online forum: 23% of respondents said they used it more than once a week, and 14% said they looked at it daily. One resident said, ‘Woolwich has a brilliant community but only on Facebook. Everything gets sorted on Facebook...(the group) exchanges information and support, and we’ve borrowed things from people off that before, which is really nice...’ Woodberry Down was the only other Phase 2 scheme with high participation in an online forum.

Family friendliness and high-density housing as a long-term option for London

In Phase 2 we introduced a question asking residents whether they thought their schemes were family-friendly. Interestingly 84% of respondents with children said their schemes were family-friendly, compared to only 44% of childless households—suggesting that the lived experience for parents is better than what non-parents assume. However these figures are based on a tiny sample: only 12% of households surveyed in Phase 2 had children and just 4% had more than one child. To find a preponderance of a young childless demographic is not unexpected: as the schemes and their residents mature and children are born, we may see more mix at least in terms of household composition.

Many respondents in the new schemes said they saw them as appropriate for a certain point in the lifecycle but did not intend to make them long-term homes. The reasons for this fell into three categories:

- *Design*: the lack of space for households with children, and in particular limited storage space for the accoutrements of childhood (bikes, pushchairs, etc.). As a Thurston Point private tenant in their 20s said, ‘I think (these developments) provide a good option for younger people to live in before they are able to buy, but before they are settling down to have families. I think with a family I'd want to live somewhere with more space.’
- *Affordability*: the cost of a moving up to a family-sized unit within the same development was often seen as unachievable. (See Table 13: about half the flats in the case-study developments had two bedrooms, and only 13% had three or more bedrooms.) Some respondents said if they started a family and their household income fell temporarily, they might not even be able to afford their current unit.
- *Cultural factors*: many associated family life with a house and garden, and home ownership, and said that a high-density apartment just wouldn't feel right for bringing up children. These cultural preferences are well illustrated in Figure 5, a wordcloud created from descriptions of the kind of place respondents would like to live in ten years' time. The picture it paints is clear: the single most frequent word was ‘garden’, with ‘house’ and ‘spacious’ after that.

Table 12: Agree that ‘high density developments like this one are a good long-term option for people in London’

	<i>Phase 2 only</i>
Woodberry Down	93%
Lillington Gardens	89%
Millbank Estate	88%
Woolwich Central	77%
Tachbrook Estate	75%
Thurston Point	50%

Some residents, particularly in Woolwich Central and Greenwich Creekside, were concerned about the level of construction in their local areas and its potential impact on their day-to-day lives. Participants were particularly worried that more high-density housing developments might place further strain on surrounding infrastructure, reduce sunlight, spoil views and increase noise levels. A handful of respondents cited this as a reason for not wishing to remain in their development long-term.

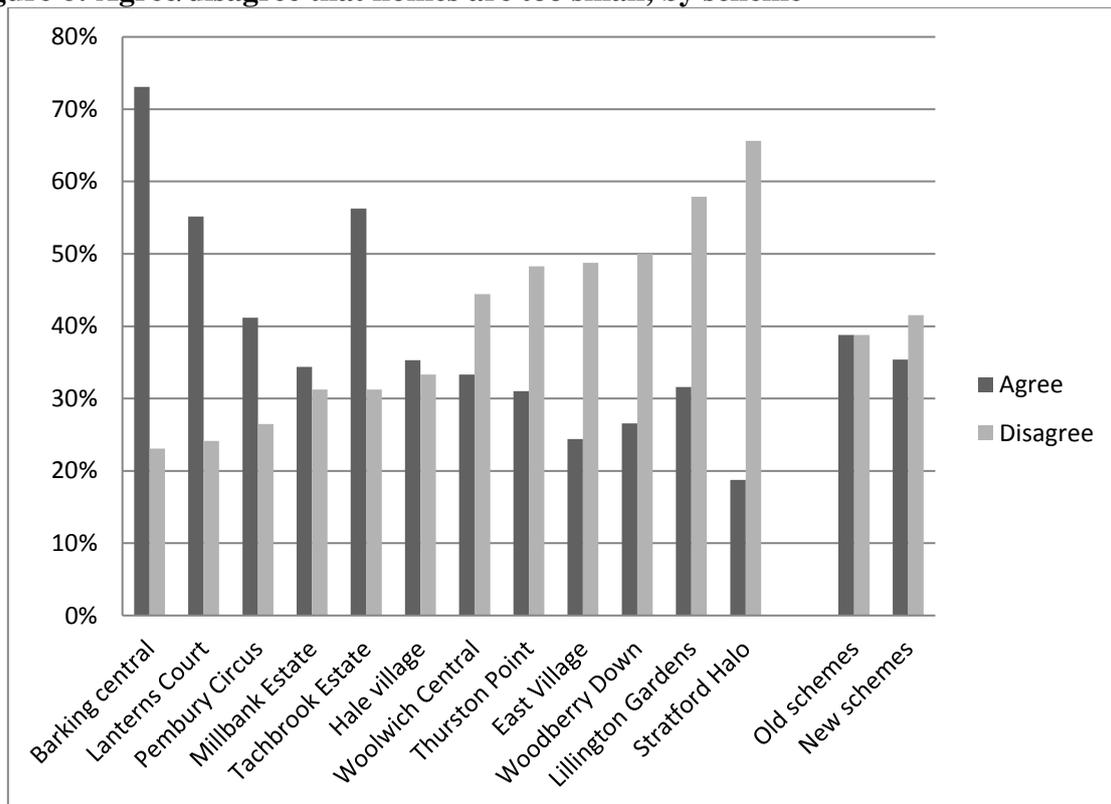
5.3 Issues to do with built form

We asked a number of questions about the physical features of homes and developments, focusing particularly on any shortcomings identified.

Dwelling size and occupancy

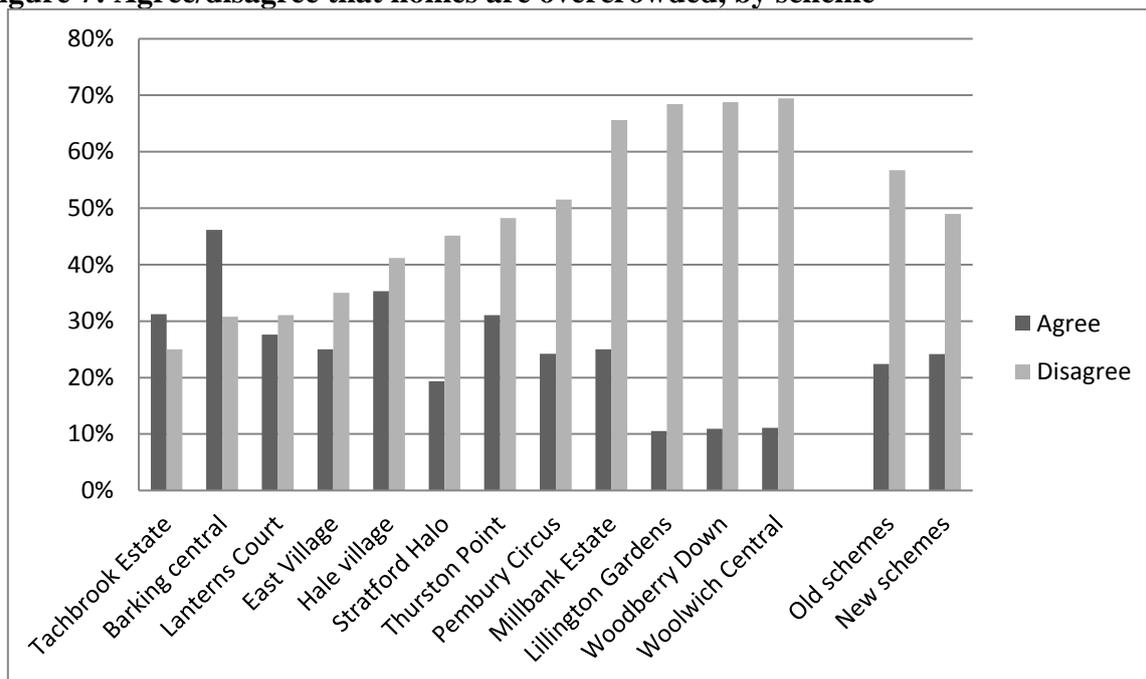
Overall the number saying their individual homes were too small was about the same as those who said they were not. Stratford Halo residents were happiest with the size of their homes, and Barking Central residents the least.

Figure 6: Agree/disagree that homes are too small, by scheme



Most respondents said their homes were not overcrowded. The only schemes with a net negative score (that is, where a majority of respondents agreed that their homes were overcrowded) were Tachbrook Estate and Barking Central. Discussions during focus groups suggested that the sense of overcrowding was closely related to problems with noise, especially from adjacent neighbours.

Figure 7: Agree/disagree that homes are overcrowded, by scheme



The great majority of the homes in our sample (87%) had two bedrooms or fewer (Table 13). On the whole the number of people in the households corresponded to the number of bedrooms. There was more evidence of ‘under-occupation’ (figures in green) than overcrowding (red figures). Social tenants were twice as likely as private residents to complain of overcrowding (39% vs 21%), which could be related to the higher percentage of families among the former and the shortage of family-sized social housing.

Table 13: number of people in the household vs number of bedrooms

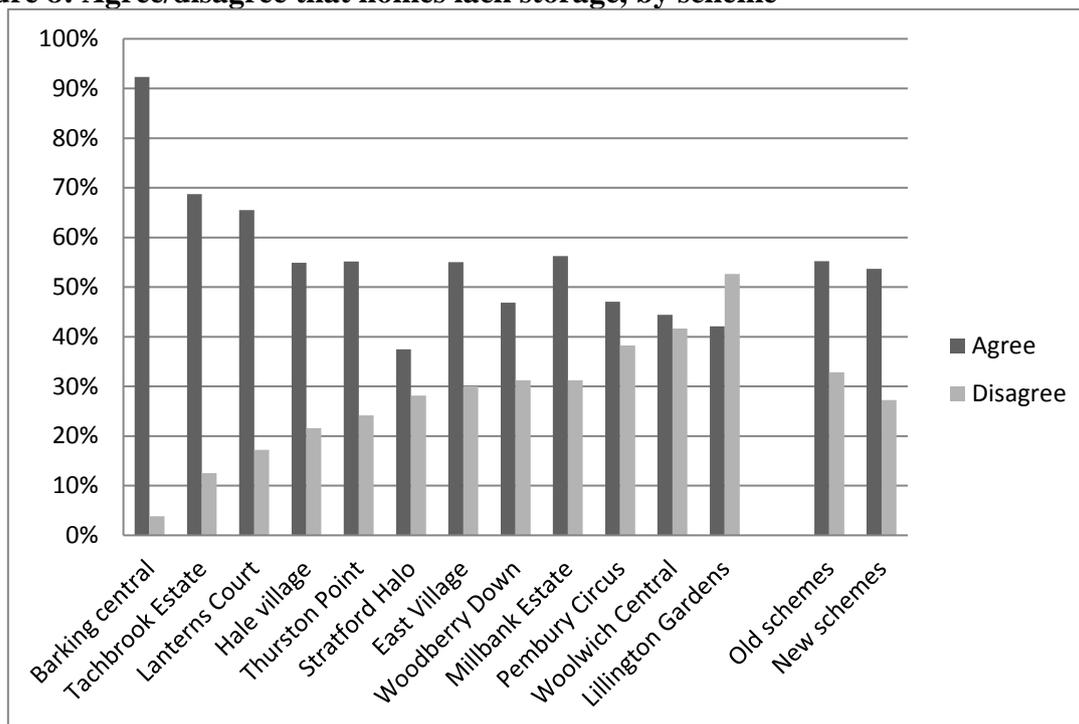
	<i>Number of people in household</i>								<i>% of dwellings in sample</i>	
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>9</i>		<i>Total</i>
<i>Number of bedrooms</i>										
Studio	16	4							20	4%
1	96	95	9	2				1	203	40%
2	38	133	39	8		1			219	43%
3+	4	15	26	13	6	1	2		67	13%
<i>Total</i>	<i>154</i>	<i>247</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>509</i>	

Private residents generally did not perceive their homes to be too small, while about half of social tenants said they were.

Lack of storage

Closely related to size is the question of storage. In most of the schemes respondents said there was not enough storage. Interestingly, lack of storage was just as likely to be seen as an issue in old as new schemes (55 and 54% respectively).

Figure 8: Agree/disagree that homes lack storage, by scheme



Across all tenures, about half of respondents said lack of storage was a problem. Social tenants were most likely to report this (64%), which may once again be linked to the relatively high percentage of households with children. One parent at Woodberry Down (an owner-occupier) said, ‘There’s no storage inside the flats for families (nowhere to dry clothes, store suitcases, prams etc.).’

Focus groups revealed that the problem is not just limited storage, but also the inability to adapt the space with extra storage. Several residents mentioned blocking their floor-to-ceiling windows with a storage unit or sofa. Others talked of having to store some of their belongings at their parents’ home. A handful suggested that storage issues contributed to their sense that these homes were temporary: residents might be unable to bring all of their belongings to the flat, and/or felt they would need to move once their household size/storage demands increased.

Quality of construction

Residents of some schemes had concerns about the quality of construction and/or fixtures, mentioning lifts, floors, walls and carpeting. Particularly in Lanterns Court, Stratford Halo, Pembury Circus and Greenwich Creekside, there were comments about the overall build quality, with complaints ranging from thin walls and poor paint jobs to problems with hot water. A respondent at Pembury Circus complained of ‘Poor build quality, paper thin walls, hot water problems, poor maintenance in communal areas (bike shed, lobby) which goes unfixed for weeks.’

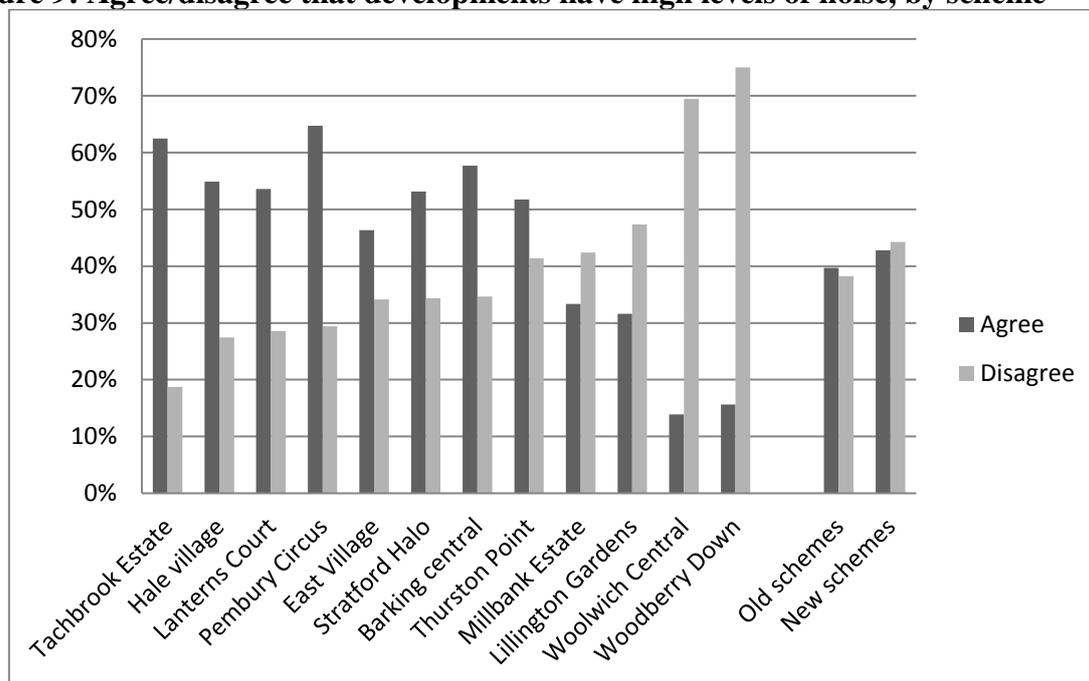
While some schemes attracted a disproportionate number of complaints about build quality, others were generally praised. Many residents of Woolwich Central, Woodberry Down and

Lillington Gardens noted benefits like good sound insulation and well-maintained communal areas.

Noise

Some 42% of respondents said their developments were excessively noisy (though there was no control group of residents of nearby non-dense housing against which to compare this). The net negatives were greatest at Tachbrook Estate, Hale Village and Pembury Circus, with strong net positives at Woolwich Central and Woodberry Down. Several Woolwich Central residents told us that their flats were exceptionally quiet: one walking interview participant said, ‘Everything feels overcrowded in London apart from my building. The city goes quiet when I come into in my flat.’

Figure 9: Agree/disagree that developments have high levels of noise, by scheme



There were two main sources of noise: from outside, and from within the building. Outside noise often related to the location of the building. Several of our case study developments were close to large/busy roads or railways (or both, at Thurston Point). Exterior noise was more intrusive if residents had to open windows due to overheating: one resident of Thurston Point said ‘(the) flats are unbearably hot all year particularly in the summer and because our flat faces the Lewisham Station part of the railway we can’t keep our windows open as it’s too noisy.’

Another common complaint regarding external noise was that of children/youths in the communal areas. At the focus groups, some residents – particularly from East Village and Lanterns Court – said the structuring and positioning of buildings created an ‘echo chamber’ effect for noises at ground level. This was a problem even for those on the highest floors.

Noise from neighbours was most commonly transmitted through walls or floors, or through open windows. At Thurston Point, there were also several comments about noise travelling

several floors through the ventilation system. Hale Village residents complained that the balconies of some flats were placed too close to the bedroom windows of others, which was particularly problematic in the summer. One focus group participant from Lillington Gardens said, ‘I get a lot of noise from under, next door and upstairs neighbours. I have the door to the building, people shouting on the interphone and the door slamming. Impossible to sleep in my flat without earplugs.’

Social tenants were much more likely than private tenants or owner occupiers to perceive noise as a problem (Table 14)

Table 14: ‘development has a high level of noise’ by tenure

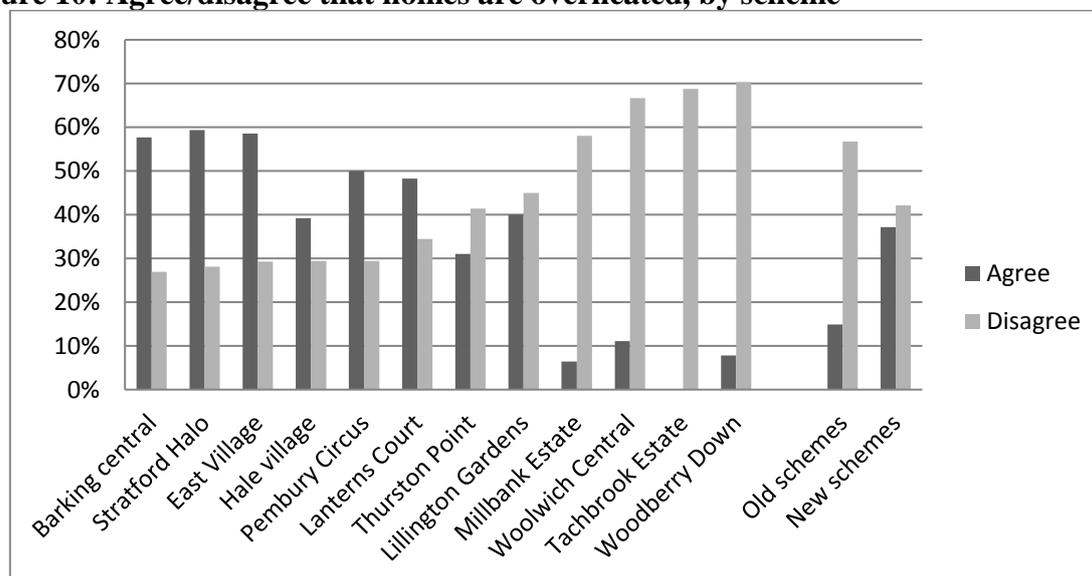
All schemes except Strata SE1 and Greenwich Creekside

<i>Tenure</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
Ownership including shared ownership	36%	15%	49%
Private rented	41%	14%	45%
Social rented	64%	14%	22%
Overall	42%	14%	43%

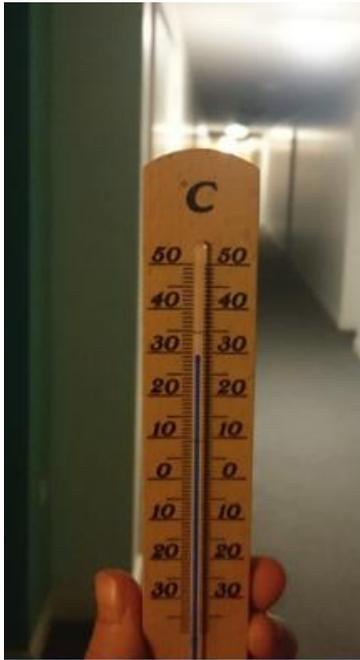
Overheating and aspect

Some 33% of respondents overall said their homes were overheated. This was most reported at Barking Central, Stratford Halo and East Village. Residents of older historic estates (Millbank and Tachbrook) rarely reported problems with overheating, and Woodberry Down also had a strong net positive score.

Figure 10: Agree/disagree that homes are overheated, by scheme



Overheating was identified as a problem both within the flats and the communal areas of most new developments. At Greenwich Creekside, for example, residents said corridors and communal areas remained around 30° Celsius all year round. This was echoed by residents from Stratford Halo: one said, ‘Corridors are saunas (air ventilation is horrible)’; another said they disliked the ‘Temperature, it gets very hot on sunny days-- when the temperature outside is 18, it gets to 26 degrees inside. It’s like a glass house.’



Resident's photo showing internal temperature of corridor at Greenwich Creekside Autumn 2017

Several interviewees, especially in schemes overlooking railway lines or major roads, said that they often faced an unattractive choice between overheating (windows closed) or noise and smell from outside (windows open).

Heating issues were often attributed to the centralised heating systems found in most new case studies. Residents complained that they had little control over the heating, and many said they resented having to pay a substantial fee for it. In a couple of developments (especially East Village and Barking Central) residents said water from the cold tap came out hot initially, and that they had to run the water for a few minutes before it came out cold. This was seen as related to the heating system.

Not all residents were unhappy with their heating. Some focus-group participants liked the centralised systems, enthusing that they had only needed to turn the heat on a handful of times during the winter. A number also recognised the potential environmental benefits.

We asked respondents whether their homes were dual aspect (that is, had windows on more than one side). In the older estates, most homes were dual aspect (94% in the Tachbrook Estate), while in almost all of the modern developments most homes were not. Woodberry Down was the exception here, with 61% of respondents saying their homes were dual aspect. Current London housing design standards, set out in policy D4 of the draft London Plan, say that single-aspect dwellings should be avoided wherever possible, and that if they are built they should have adequate passive ventilation, daylight and privacy, and be designed in a way that avoids overheating.

Table 15: Are homes dual aspect?*All schemes except Strata SE1 and Greenwich Creekside*

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>
Tachbrook Estate	6%	94%
Millbank Estate	15%	85%
Lillington Gardens	21%	79%
Woodberry Down	39%	61%
Hale Village	51%	49%
Pembury Circus	52%	48%
East Village	55%	45%
Woolwich Central	61%	39%
Thurston Point	69%	31%
Lanterns Court	75%	25%
Barking Central	78%	22%
Stratford Halo	90%	10%

Residents of homes that were dual-aspect were less likely to report problems with overheating (23%, vs 39% for those with single-aspect homes).

Table 16: Overheating vs dual aspect*All schemes except Strata SE1 and Greenwich Creekside*

<i>Dual aspect?</i>	<i>Overheating is a drawback</i>		
	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
Yes	23%	24%	53%
No	39%	21%	40%

Car ownership and parking

Most of our case-study schemes contain at least some dedicated parking; the Millbank Estate is the only one with *no* onsite parking (although there is parking on the streets that run through the estate). Only 26% of Phase 2 respondents reported owning a car (the question was not asked in Phase 1); this compares to 54% of London households overall (TFL undated). Shared owners and owner-occupiers were most likely to have cars and private tenants least likely. Of car owners, 57% parked within their developments and the remainder on the street, either with or without residents' parking permits.

Those who did not own cars were asked the main reason why not. The overwhelming response (78% of respondents) was that other modes of transport were more convenient—reflecting the excellent public-transport accessibility of most of these schemes. Table 17 sets out the reasons given by respondents for not owning a car, in new vs old schemes. Note that all the new case-study schemes are located outside the congestion-charge zone, while the three historic schemes are within it.

Table 17: Reasons for not owning a car

<i>Reason</i>	<i>%</i>
Other modes of transport are more convenient	34%
Busy/congested roads	17%
Can't afford to own/run one	12%
Difficulties with car parking	12%
Environmental reasons	12%
Not interested in driving/don't like driving	10%
Other	1%
Safety concerns	1%

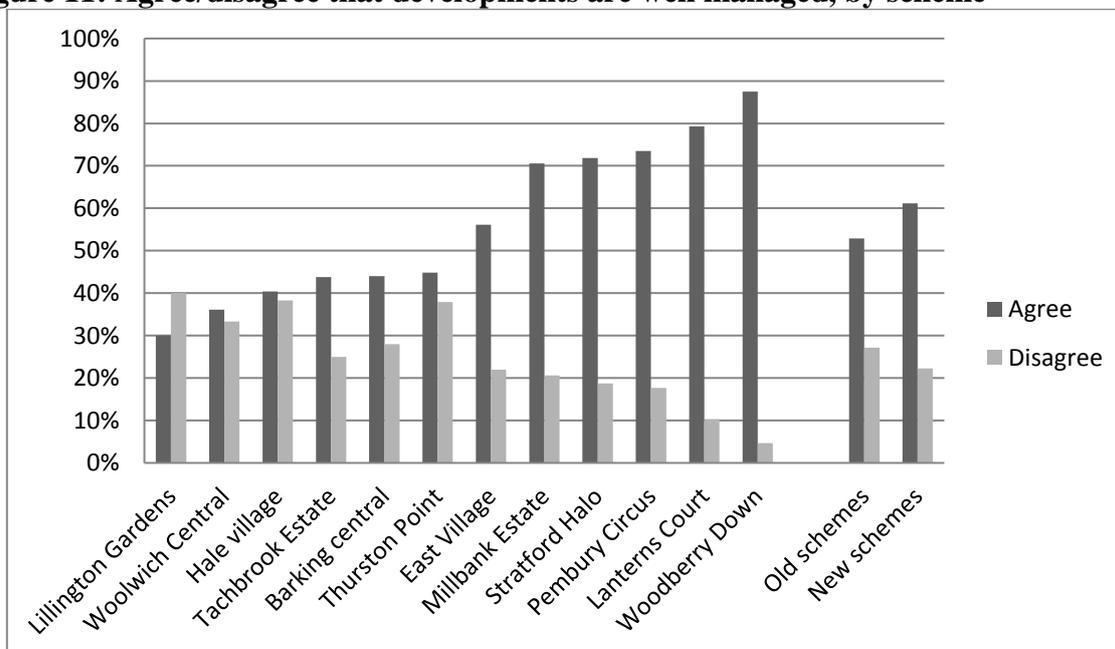
In our 2004 research into high-density London neighbourhoods, car parking came up as a major challenge, with an increasing number of vehicles requiring parking in streets that were laid out before motor vehicles came into use. Compared to the 2004 project there was little mention of cars in this research.

5.4 Management, amenities and service charges

Quality of management

A majority of respondents of all tenures said their schemes were well-managed. Residents of Lanterns Court and Woodberry Down had strong net positive ratings. Only in Lillington Gardens did ‘disagrees’ outnumber ‘agrees’, though the number of responses from this development was small.

Figure 11: Agree/disagree that developments are well managed, by scheme



Looking at tenure, private tenants were the happiest with management; 69% said their developments were well managed. Because our research approach focused on understanding

problems, we collected more data about shortcomings than about good practice. Issues that came up several times included slow response times to repairs (especially of lifts), poor initial build quality, high utility bills from monopoly suppliers, and rising service charges. Residents in Lillington Gardens and Thurston Point in particular expressed concern about the accountability of management, and said there was a lack of clarity about who was responsible for tasks. Several said they would prefer to have a member of the management team regularly or permanently based on site, who could act as a central contact for any issue.

Residents' attempts to resolve maintenance issues often reinforced concerns about unresponsive management. The malfunctioning of lifts, most notably in Thurston Point but also in Stratford Halo, had angered many residents – some said they had been carrying pushchairs up and down several flights of stairs. A Stratford Halo tenant said, 'Lifts are worst in the world (aka always broken)'. One of the attractions of new schemes was the offer of modern, functional facilities, so residents found poor build quality and mechanical breakdowns both unexpected and disappointing.

Amenities

Many of the modern schemes offer a range of amenities to attract residents. These may, for example, include gyms, concierges, co-working facilities, party spaces and roof gardens. Most also have at least some commercial space. Table 18 summarises some of the most common amenities for our new case studies.

Thurston Point and Woolwich Central have supermarkets on the ground floors (Asda and Tesco respectively), and the biggest, master-planned developments (eg East Village, Woodberry Down) have populations large enough to support a range of local shops. Residents in these developments regularly referred to the benefits of having shops so close by. For Thurston Point and Woolwich Central, the main benefit was convenience, whilst for East Village and Woodberry Down several respondents felt that the independent shops added to local character/sense of place. There were a handful of comments suggesting that the communal amenities were insufficient for the number of residents within the development, resulting in issues like overcrowded gyms.

Most households agreed that these high-density developments offered good communal services and amenities. Private tenants were most likely to agree (65%) and social tenants least likely (56%). Here it should be noted that in some schemes social tenants do not have access to the same amenities as private residents. All-inclusive services were an attraction in new schemes but not in old (comparing Phase 2 schemes only).

Table 18: Selected amenities by scheme

<i>Scheme name</i>	<i>New schemes only</i>			
	<i>Concierge</i>	<i>Gym</i>	<i>Car parking</i>	<i>Commercial/ retail</i>
Barking Central	✓			✓
East Village	✓	✓	✓	✓
Greenwich Creekside	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hale Village	✓	✓	✓	✓
Lanterns Court	✓	✓	✓	
Pembury Circus	✓	✓		✓
Strata SE1	✓		✓	
Stratford Halo	✓	✓	✓	
Thurston Point			✓	✓
Woodberry Down	✓	✓	✓	✓
Woolwich Central	✓		✓	✓

In the two Phase 2 developments that have them, concierges were popular and well-used—in both schemes most respondents used the concierge more than once a week (Table 19).

Residents mainly used them to receive deliveries (Figure 12), but they also said they valued the more intangible benefits of having a familiar, friendly face at the door, and knowing that there is a staff member on site. However employing a concierge contributes significantly to service charges, especially if there is 24/7 coverage.

Table 19: Frequency of use of concierges

<i>Case study</i>	<i>Phase 2 schemes with concierges</i>	
	<i>Percent of residents using</i>	
	<i>Every day</i>	<i>More than once a week</i>
Woodberry Down	11%	45%
Woolwich Central	19%	39%

Figure 12: What Woodberry Down residents use the concierge for
(more than 5 mentions)



All three of the new Phase 2 schemes have gyms onsite. In some schemes membership is included in the service charge, while at others a separate charge is levied. The facility was particularly heavily used at Woodberry Down, where over half of respondents said they went to the gym at least weekly.

Table 20: Frequency of use of gym

Phase 2 only

<i>Case study</i>	<i>Percent of residents using</i>	
	<i>Every day</i>	<i>More than once a week</i>
Thurston Point	0%	13%
Woodberry Down	13%	41%
Woolwich Central	3%	11%

Service charges: background

Service charges are paid by most leaseholders, and according to the Land Registry around 95% of new properties sold in London are classified as leasehold. The charge is generally calculated on the basis of dwelling floor area, with an annual price per square foot. It is paid by the owner (technically leaseholder) of the flat. Tenants do not usually pay separate service charges as the amount is included in their rent.

The Association of Residential Managing Agents estimates that the average service charge in London is between £1,800 and £2,000 per year, and around £850 for local authority tenants (London Assembly, 2012). More recent research by Direct Line for Business (2016) found that residents’ service charges in England and Wales average at £1,863, but rise to £2,777 for

new builds (those coming on the market in 2016). It also found that 33 per cent of management companies had increased service charges in the preceding two years.

The service charge generally covers the cost of:

- Repairs/maintenance of communal areas (e.g. lifts) and the outside of the building (e.g. roof, drains, windows etc.).
- Communal electricity/heating/water, in those buildings that have collective services
- Building insurance
- Freeholders' administration or management charges, e.g.
 - o concierge facilities
 - o rubbish removal
 - o pest control
 - o security
 - o health and safety (e.g. fire)
- Sinking funds (for future repairs)

A listing for a two bed flat in Hale Village states that the monthly £200 service charge 'includes maintenance of the building exterior, communal areas, door entry system, lifts, gardens, security patrols & CCTV, concierge service, communal heating system, building insurance and contribution towards sinking fund' (Emoov, 2016). Leaseholders generally have to pay a share even if they don't use a service/space – e.g. owners of ground-floor flats would still probably have to pay to maintain the lift. Concierge services are considered to be a particularly costly item.

In some schemes car parking is covered by the service charge, while in others residents must purchase a parking space or parking permit; in some new schemes there is no parking provided at all except for disabled drivers.

Service charges have been the subject of recent controversy; for example the Guardian reported a case in which after a building changed hands the new owner increased the fee by 1,420% (including charging £1,236 for cleaning a corridor) (Jones, 2017).

Findings about service charges

Our survey did not contain a question about service charges, though the subject was frequently mentioned by interviewees and in responses to free-text survey questions. We therefore carried out a short web-based exercise to compare the service charges of our case-study sites. It should be noted that calculations are based on online listings available at the time of research (May 2018). What is included in the service charge may vary between the shared ownership and market rate units in the same development, and within a large scheme, service charges can also differ by block. The service charge for blocks containing mainly affordable housing/shared ownership may be kept down by having no concierge, and their residents may have no access to certain services (gyms, pools etc.).

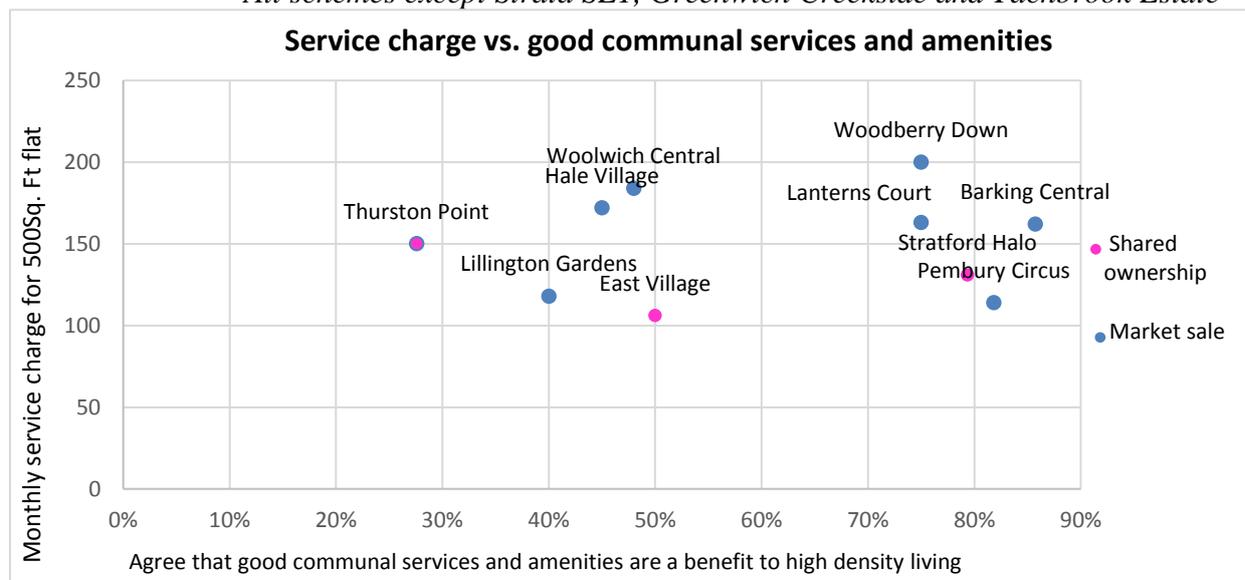
Web research showed a wide range of service charges among case study developments, from £2.39 p/a per sq ft at Millbank Estate (about £1,200 p/a for a 500 sq ft flat) to £5.07 (circa £2,535 p/a for a 500 sq ft flat) at Strata SE1. We found no simultaneous listings for shared ownership and market-price flats in the same schemes that also contained information about service charges, so we could not illustrate the differences between the two.

Table 18 above sets out some of the main services and amenities offered at the case-study schemes (new schemes only). It would make sense that the more services the development offers (e.g. concierge, lots of communal areas etc.), the greater the charge, but our case-study sites showed no clear correspondence between the two. For example Strata SE1, whose listing showed the highest service charge, has no gym and no communal outdoor space. The fact that two of the historic developments - Lillington Gardens and Millbank Estate - have some of the lowest charges might be related to their comparative lack of ‘modern’ services like concierges.

There doesn’t appear to be a strong relationship between developments with the highest service charges and those with the highest percentage of residents agreeing the scheme offers ‘good communal services and amenities’ (Figure 13). In fact, some modern schemes with relatively low service charges have high levels of satisfaction with communal services and amenities (e.g., Pembury Circus, where residents of a 500 sq ft flat would pay £1,367 per year).

Figure 13: monthly service charge vs. percentage of residents agreeing that the development offers ‘Good communal services and amenities’

All schemes except Strata SE1, Greenwich Creekside and Tachbrook Estate



Perceptions of value for money varied widely. We received some very positive feedback about management from Stratford Halo and Woodberry Down, both of which have relatively high service charges. Woodberry Down residents in particular spoke highly of the efficient services and well-kept amenities, and few complained about the relatively high service charge (£2395 p.a. for a 500 sq ft flat).

Service charges at Woolwich Central were also high, but there was no consensus that the fees supported good communal services and amenities (50% of residents agreed that these were good while 22% disagreed) or good management (1/3 agreed it was good and 1/3 disagreed). Woolwich Central was, in fact, where we got the most comments on the subject – it featured in almost a third of responses to the open-ended question ‘what do you dislike about living in...’ Leaseholders at Woolwich Central were particularly concerned about a lack of control

over increases in service charges, saying that the landlord had increased the fee by about a third over the last few years.

Residents of other case study sites were less likely to complain about service charges, though there were a handful of comments about poor/inefficient service, and paying for services they didn't have access to – for example, one Woodberry Down respondent said, 'I only have access for one to the gym but I pay the service charge for a four-person flat. Others get access to more fobs but pay the same.'

Thurston Point, the only new development in this study without a concierge, came out on the bottom in terms of satisfaction with 'communal services and amenities', and generated a number of complaints about poor building management.

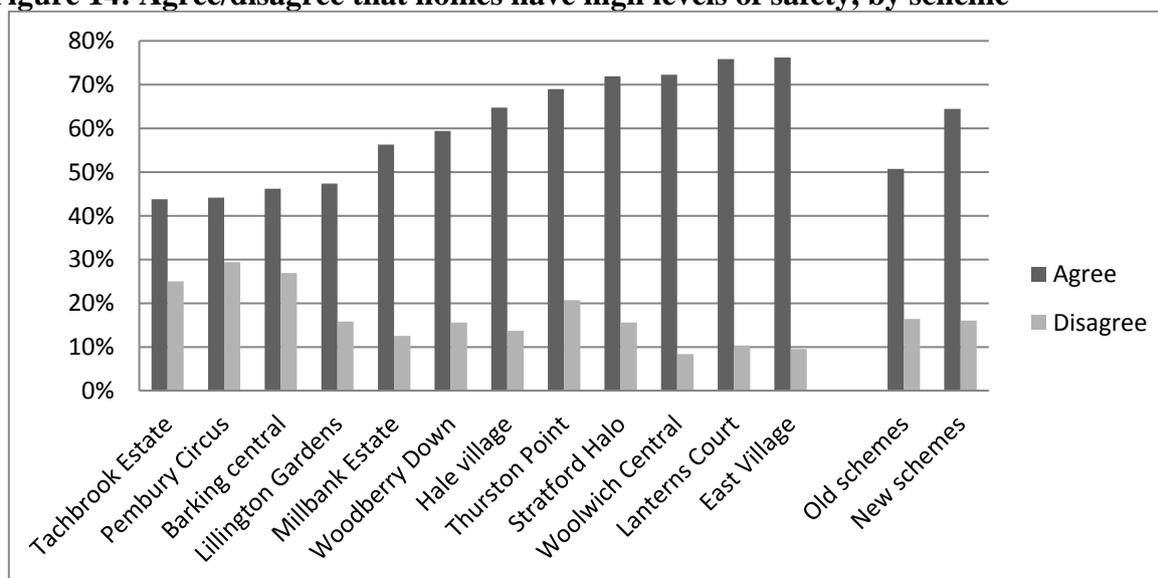
5.5 Other advantages and disadvantages of high-density living

In one section of the questionnaire, we set out a list of stylised benefits and drawbacks of high-density living, and asked respondents whether they agreed that they were features of their own accommodation.

Advantage: Safety

Respondents generally felt their schemes were safe (62% agreed and 16% disagreed). A Greenwich Creekside resident praised the 'safe, village-like feel (in Greenwich), whilst still being within the centre of London (for work, social life, etc.)', and a Woolwich Central respondent said 'The building design allows residents to experience a peaceful, secluded and secure community despite its location.'

Figure 14: Agree/disagree that homes have high levels of safety, by scheme



Social tenants are somewhat less likely than private residents to think schemes are safe (54%, versus 59% for owners and 67% for private renters). Several respondents linked safety issues to social tenants. Others complained of homeless people or drug activity in public parts of the

development. There were also concerns in some new schemes about front doors malfunctioning and letting in ‘tailgaters’.

An interesting theme that emerged from surveys and interviews was a trade-off between high levels of security and a sense of community. At Pembury Circus, for example, several residents argued that the secure access to each individual floor affected community building—one said, ‘as much as the secure entry system is good for peace of mind, the fact that you can only access your own floor in the buildings means you don't get the opportunity to bump into other residents on other floors.’

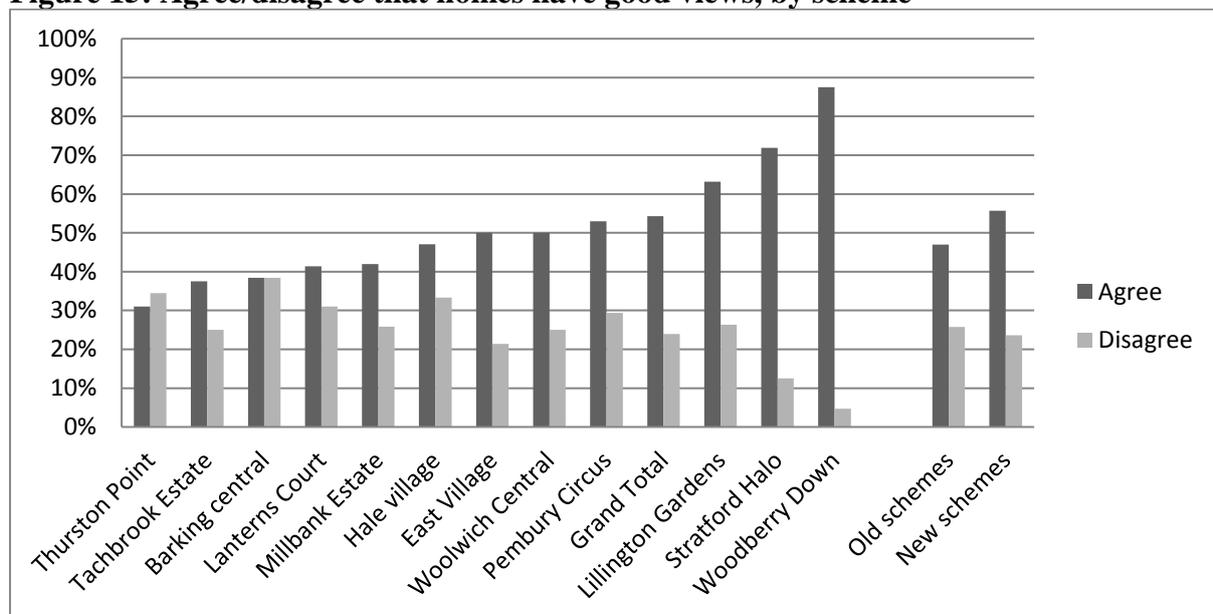
Advantage: Good views

About half of respondents said one of the benefits of living in high-density housing was that they had good views. At Woodberry Down, the view featured in over 40% of responses to the open-ended question, ‘What do you like about living in...’ – as one resident said, ‘The view is phenomenal.’

Owners were more likely than social tenants to say the views are good—and they are in fact more likely to have good views because social and affordable units are often located on lower floors (92% of social tenant homes were on floors 0-4, vs 43% for owner-occupiers). Residents of new schemes (which are taller than the historic ones) were more likely to appreciate the views, and positioning/location also unsurprisingly had a significant impact (e.g. Woodberry Down overlooks two reservoirs).

Residents in some schemes complained that their view – which may have been a key factor in their decision to move – was being ruined by further construction in the area. A private tenant at Woolwich Central feared that ‘new building projects ... will block our views and bring more people.’

Figure 15: Agree/disagree that homes have good views, by scheme

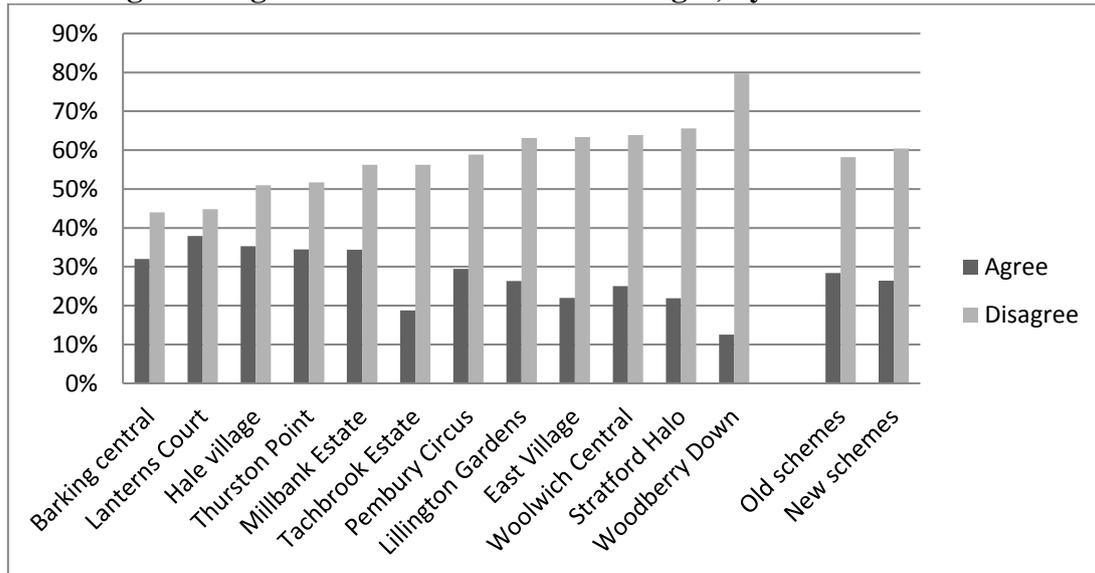


Disadvantage: Lack of daylight

The converse of good views for those on high floors can be lack of daylight for those on lower floors. 27% of respondents agreed that their homes had limited light; a Lanterns Court resident said in a focus group that the only part of his flat to receive any direct sunlight was one corner of his balcony. The net positive scores were highest at Stratford Halo (a tower) and Woodberry Down (next to reservoirs), while the lowest were at Barking Central and Lanterns Court.

Light is most likely to be an issue for social tenants, reflecting the fact that in mixed-tenure blocks they are more likely to live on lower floors.

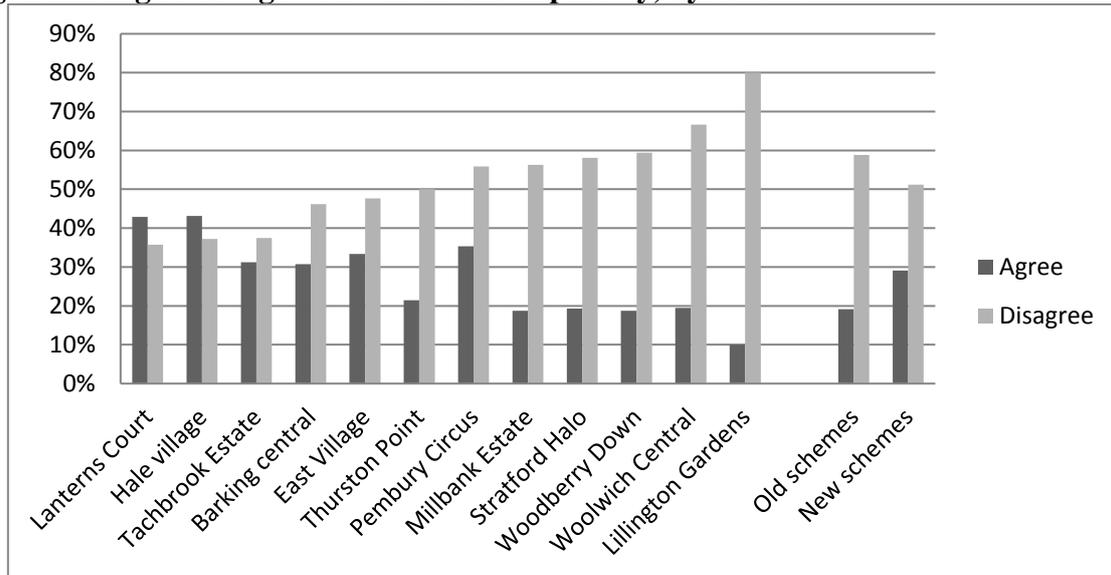
Figure 16: Agree/disagree that homes have limited light, by scheme



Disadvantage: Lack of privacy

Overall, less than 1/3 of respondents said their homes suffered from a lack of privacy. Lanterns Court and Hale Village were the only developments that had net negative scores (that is, that a majority of respondents said their homes were not private enough). Several residents of these schemes reported being overlooked by windows on adjacent buildings. Some had concerns that future development in the area would reduce their privacy—one Greenwich Creekside resident was worried that ‘More and more houses (are going) up which means a loss of privacy and a loss of view and overcrowding.’

Figure 17: Agree/disagree that homes lack privacy, by scheme



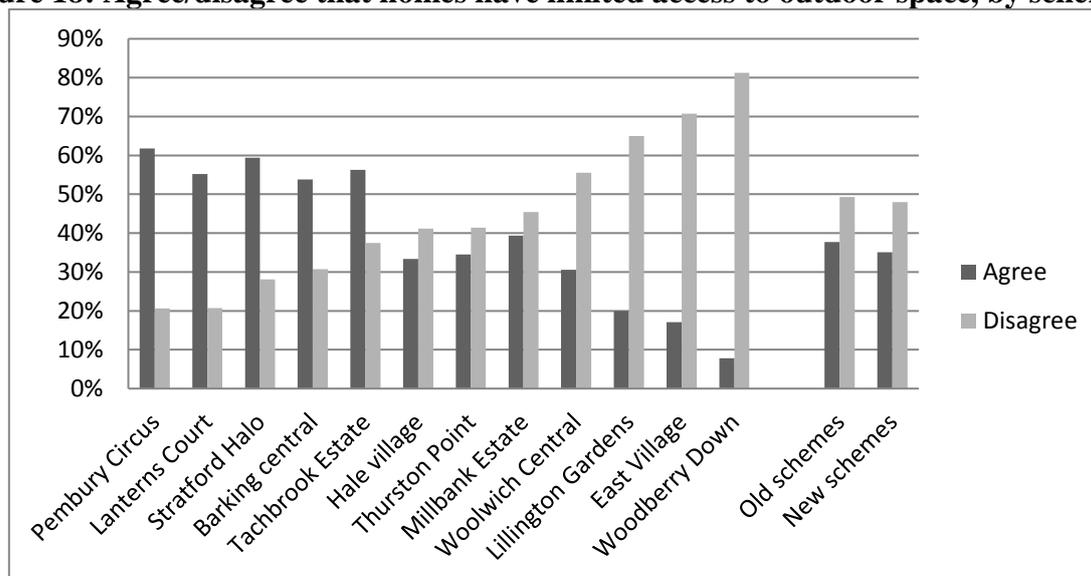
Disadvantage: Limited access to outdoor space

As the case-study maps make clear, most of the schemes are located within an easy walk of outdoor space. Woodberry Down sits on the edge of two reservoirs, East Village is a stone’s throw from the Queen Elizabeth Park in East London (with Stratford Halo also close by), and the Pimlico estates are a few streets from the Thames. Most developments also incorporate some dedicated play space.

Most schemes provide outdoor space of some kind, ranging from resident balconies (most) to large landscaped communal areas (East Village, Woodberry Down, Hale Village). Residents’ use of these spaces similarly varied widely, reflecting not only the amount of space provided but also its quality and the degree to which it suited resident lifestyles.

Looked at by scheme there was a range of feeling about whether access to outdoor space was a problem. Woodberry Down and East Village—both of which incorporate large areas of well-landscaped outdoor space—scored strong net positives: one East Village resident said ‘Location is fabulous...the green spaces, the QEOP (Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park), the canal provide excellent opportunities to walk, cycle, explore.’ A Woodberry Down resident said, ‘The high density is balanced by access to communal green spaces.’ By contrast Pembury Circus, Lanterns Court and Stratford Halo, which are more on smaller plots and have little outdoor space on the schemes themselves, scored net negatives.

Figure 18: Agree/disagree that homes have limited access to outdoor space, by scheme



In Phase 2 we asked respondents how often they made use of outdoor communal areas. In almost every scheme there was a range of frequency of use, from 'every day' to 'never'. More than a quarter of residents of Lillington Gardens and the Millbank Estate said they used the outdoor areas daily; by contrast 78% of Thurston Point residents said they used them less than once a month or never. The main difference here is that residents in the Pimlico estates naturally move through the outdoor space as they go to and from their flats. At Thurston Point the main entrances are on the other side of the building from the courtyard space, which has little to attract the casual users (no retail units, cafes etc.).

Although many of the developments include roof gardens, we heard consistently that these were little used, perhaps because residents were unaware they had access to them and/or there were restrictions on their use (e.g., no barbecues, early curfews). Referring to the roof garden at Pembury Circus, one focus group participant commented that it was empty most of the time because 'people don't know what to do there'. Several said they were more likely to use their private balconies than the roof gardens. Woolwich Central was an outlier here; one resident said, 'The terrace (with playground and some green space) on the 8th floor is excellent – it's not visible from the outside.'

5.6 Build to Rent vs traditional private renting

The BTR sector is a new product in the London housing market, and from a standing start about a decade ago is now growing rapidly. The government has supported its development through various policy measures and subsidy schemes, as BTR landlords are said to offer better, more professional management and an improved tenant experience.

This research offered an early opportunity to investigate resident experience in BTR homes. Our 11 new case-study schemes included three examples of so-called Build to Rent (purpose-built private rented housing): Stratford Halo and East Village in Phase 1, and Thurston Point in Phase 2. We used the survey data (new schemes only) to look in more depth at resident

experience in BTR housing, and to compare it with the experience of tenants renting from more typical private landlords (designated Buy to Let tenants). Our aim was to ask whether the experiences of BTR and buy-to-let tenants differ significantly, and whether tenants in BTR schemes were more satisfied with the product. For Thurston Point residents we asked a set of questions specifically about their experience of Build to Rent. These questions were not asked of Phase 1 respondents at East Village and Stratford Halo. We had hoped to arrange a dedicated focus group with Build to Rent tenants but our efforts to recruit participants from Thurston Point and two other schemes were not successful and given time constraints we abandoned this research strand.

The data are drawn from a relatively small sample: there were 57 private tenants in the three BTR schemes, and 116 private tenants in the eight other new developments. The highest number was in Woodberry Down (25), and the lowest in Woolwich Central (8).

The GLA has defined Build to Rent (BTR) as schemes that

- have at least 50 units,
- let separate, self-contained units,
- operate under unified ownership and management (no separate landlord for social/affordable units), with onsite management,
- will keep units as rented for at least 15 years,
- offer tenancies of three years or more, with shorter tenant break clauses,
- offer rent certainty for duration of tenancy, and
- charge no up-front fees (Homes for Londoners SPG 2017).

Some schemes that do tick all the boxes are now opening in London but have not been occupied for very long. None of the three BTR schemes we looked at is a ‘pure’ example of the model. East Village is the former athletes’ village from the 2012 London Olympics and was not initially designed as a rental scheme; although it is all-rental the development is operated by two separate landlords—Get London Living for the private rented units, and Triathlon Homes for the social and affordable units. Both Stratford Halo and Thurston Point are operated by housing associations or their subsidiaries, and both schemes incorporate some social rented housing and/or shared ownership units. Thurston Point does not offer tenancies longer than 12 months.

Most of the private tenants in the other eight schemes are renting from more typical private landlords. Across the PRS as a whole, most landlords are individuals or couples owning one or two properties. (We assume this is also the pattern in the developments we studied, although we did not ask respondents for information about their landlords.) Some of these landlords will be based abroad: other recent research, some carried out by LSE London, suggested that about 15-20% of new homes in London are purchased by overseas buyers, and that most of these homes are rented out (Scanlon et al 2017a).

In comparing the experience of BTR and buy-to-let tenants, we looked at three themes:

- *Community.* Many BTR landlords have active community-building programmes, providing social events and parties for residents, Is there a greater sense of community in BTR schemes?
- *Facilities.* BTR landlords often provide a range of communal facilities including co-working space, gyms, social spaces etc. Do residents rate the facilities on offer?

- *Management.* BTR operators provide dedicated, professional management, often with on-site concierges and/or building managers. Do BTR tenants find their buildings to be well managed?

It is worth noting that the overwhelming majority of London private tenants live in older homes, not in new developments. Our comparisons are limited to residents of (relatively) new schemes, which is only one subset of the private rented sector. In addition, except at Thurston Point, we did not ask specific questions about residents' experience of *their landlords* as opposed to the overall management of their schemes. In the BTR schemes the landlords are the building managers, but in the other schemes the two functions are usually unrelated.

Household incomes: BTR vs buy-to-let tenants

The income distributions of buy-to-let and Build to Rent tenants who responded to the survey were similar. Both types of tenant were relatively affluent: 74% of BTR tenants and 72% of BTL tenants said they had household incomes above £60,000, and more than a third in each landlord type had household incomes over £90,000.

Table 21: Household incomes

	<i>BTR</i>	<i>BTL</i>
up to £30,000	4%	3%
£30-60,000	22%	26%
£60-90,000	38%	35%
£90,000 +	36%	37%

Community: BTR vs buy-to-let tenants

BTR tenants were more likely to know seven or more people in their schemes (15% vs 6% of buy-to-let tenants). However, *within* the build-to-rent sector there was huge variation, with no one at Thurston Pont knowing more than six people, vs 44% at East Village. In fact the strong performance of East Village accounts for all of the differences between the two types of rental. Greenwich Creekside, Stratford Halo and Woolwich Central also stood out for sociability. In terms of sociability, the difference between *schemes* seemed to be much more important than the distinction between *types of landlord*.

Table 22: Number of other people known in the development

(private tenants—all new build schemes)

	<i>No one</i>	<i>1-3 people</i>	<i>4-6 people</i>	<i>7-10 people</i>	<i>More than 10 people</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>
BUY TO LET TENANTS						
Barking Central	46%	31%	8%	8%	8%	13
Greenwich Creekside	33%	33%	20%	0%	13%	15
Hale Village	60%	30%	10%	0%	0%	10
Lanterns Court	56%	44%	0%	0%	0%	16
Pembury Circus	75%	25%	0%	0%	0%	8
Woodberry Down	29%	50%	21%	0%	0%	25
Woolwich Central	43%	29%	14%	0%	14%	7
Strata	52%	30%	9%	9%	0%	24
<i>Average Buy to Let</i>	49%	34%	10%	2%	4%	
BUILD TO RENT TENANTS						
Stratford Halo	53%	27%	7%	7%	7%	15
East Village	13%	38%	17%	13%	21%	24
Thurston Point	50%	33%	17%	0%	0%	19
<i>Average Build to Rent</i>	38%	32%	13%	6%	9%	

Build to rent tenants were somewhat more likely to agree that their schemes had a good sense of community, although for both types of tenants this was a minority view (22% of build-to-rent tenants agreed, vs 16% for buy-to-let tenants). The variation *within* categories was more marked than the variation *between* categories. Hale Village (BTL) and East Village (BTL) stood out for having the best sense of community in the perception of private tenants.

Table 23: My development has a good sense of community

(new build private tenants—all schemes except Greenwich Creekside and Strata SE1)

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
BUY TO LET TENANTS			
Barking Central	31%	23%	46%
Hale Village	50%	10%	40%
Lanterns Court	0%	13%	87%
Pembury Circus	0%	0%	100%
Woodberry Down	13%	38%	50%
Woolwich Central	0%	0%	100%
<i>Average Buy to Let</i>	16%	19%	65%
BUILD TO RENT TENANTS			
Stratford Halo	15%	15%	69%
East Village	39%	48%	13%
Thurston Point	6%	6%	89%
<i>Average Build to Rent</i>	22%	26%	52%

Amongst both BTL and BTR tenants, about half said they wanted to remain living where they were for a number of years. Again, there was more variation *within* categories than *across*, with Hale Village making a particularly strong showing and Pembury Circus poor (both on

tiny numbers though). Thurston Point tenants were most likely to *disagree* that they planned to remain in the scheme.

Table 24: I plan to remain a resident of this development for a number of years
(private tenants—all new build schemes)

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Numbers</i>
BUY TO LET TENANTS				
Barking Central	38%	31%	31%	13
Hale Village	80%	10%	10%	10
Lanterns Court	31%	38%	31%	16
Pembury Circus	14%	57%	29%	7
Woodberry Down	54%	38%	8%	24
Woolwich Central	57%	29%	14%	7
Greenwich Creekside	40%	13%	47%	15
Strata	55%	18%	27%	22
<i>Average Buy to Let</i>	47%	28%	25%	
BUILD TO RENT TENANTS				
Thurston Point	44%	6%	50%	18
East Village	58%	8%	33%	24
Stratford Halo	47%	33%	20%	15
<i>Average Build to Rent</i>	51%	14%	35%	

Facilities: BTR vs other new-build schemes

Our three Build to Rent case studies scored no higher than other schemes for good communal services—perhaps unsurprising, as all the case studies were new schemes featuring at least some communal facilities. Comparing BTR facilities to those offered by private landlords in general – including the majority that rent out older stock – would doubtless show a bigger difference.

Table 25: My development has good communal services
(private tenants in all new schemes except Greenwich Creekside and Strata SE1)

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
BUY TO LET TENANTS			
Barking Central	46%	8%	46%
Hale Village	40%	40%	20%
Lanterns Court	93%	7%	0%
Pembury Circus	75%	13%	13%
Woodberry Down	87%	9%	4%
Woolwich Central	57%	0%	43%
<i>Average Buy to Let</i>	71%	12%	17%
BUILD TO RENT TENANTS			
Stratford Halo	67%	13%	20%
East Village	88%	13%	0%
Thurston Point	11%	67%	22%
<i>Average Build to Rent</i>	58%	30%	12%

Scheme management: BTR vs other new-build developments

There was no major difference between buy-to-let and build-to-rent tenants in terms of how they saw the quality of management *of their developments*—about 68% in each category said they were well managed. Variation within each category is more important than variation between categories. Looking at BTR responses, 44% of Thurston Point respondents said their scheme was well managed vs 80% for Stratford Halo, and within the non-BTR schemes there was a similar spread.

Table 26: This development is well managed

(private tenants—all new build schemes)

<i>Scheme</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Neither agree nor disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>
BUY TO LET TENANTS			
Barking Central	31%	46%	23%
Hale Village	38%	25%	38%
Lanterns Court	88%	6%	6%
Pembury Circus	63%	0%	38%
Woodberry Down	96%	4%	0%
Woolwich Central	43%	29%	29%
Grand Total	68%	14%	17%
<i>Average Buy to Let</i>	68%	16%	16%
BUILD TO RENT TENANTS			
Stratford Halo	80%	0%	20%
East Village	78%	13%	9%
Thurston Point	44%	22%	33%
<i>Average Build to Rent</i>	68%	13%	20%

Note that this question asked about the management of the development, not the skills of the landlord. In Build to Rent schemes the manager of the development is also the landlord, but typically in new developments the landlords are a number of separate private individuals.

In Phase 2 we specifically asked Thurston Point respondents to compare their experience of build-to-rent and buy-to-let landlords. These findings, which are based on a very small sample (17 private tenants) are reported in Annex A.

6. Conclusions

Old density vs new

All three older estates were built as social housing and indeed until a few decades ago relatively few private homes were built at such high densities. The older schemes therefore originally had very different tenure profiles from the new ones, although now except for Tachbrook they are notably mixed in terms of tenure and income.

There was more of a sense of community in the older estates. Households had been living there longer (some for more than 20 years). Residents felt privileged to live in an attractive inner or central London neighbourhood and many were well-informed about the history and architecture of their homes. Most had a long-term commitment to their local area.

It is too early to expect the same depth of social engagement in developments that have been occupied for as little as two or three years. There are signs that rich networks are already developing in some of the new schemes, especially the big master-planned communities. Most of the new schemes are located in less established areas, where location wasn't necessarily an attraction and more often a trade-off.

The older schemes would all now be considered low-rise designs, and generally performed better than the new ones in terms of overheating (partly due to lower energy efficiency) and use of outdoor space.

Community

Transport accessibility, affordability and liking the neighbourhood are key aspects attracting people to new high-density developments. Social considerations such as child-friendliness, being close to family and friends and local nightlife were well down the list.

A critical mass of long-term residents seems to contribute to a sense of community and security in a development, and historic case study schemes all had this critical mass. Social tenants and owner occupiers are more likely to have such a commitment while private tenants are more transient. This poses a challenge to PRS-dominated schemes—both purpose-built rental-only schemes and speculative schemes that are dominated by buy-to-let tenants. We need to think about how to foster community in such places. Is long-term commitment a prerequisite, or are there other ways?

A number of respondents in the new schemes (mostly childless, younger people) said emphatically that they had no interest in being part of a community based on where they lived—they had plenty of friends elsewhere in London (or indeed elsewhere in the world) and one of the benefits of living where they did is that they could easily travel to meet them. This view was surprisingly widespread, and challenges accepted notions of the desirability of community.

Family living

For the market sector, the new schemes are residences for one stage of the lifecycle—broadly speaking young professionals. While in theory they could also attract older downsizers, the responses to our survey suggested there were not many of them. And it is

unusual for families with children to live in market-price units (whether owned or rented) in modern dense schemes. A high proportion of children are in social tenant households who have less effective choice.

This is a question of cultural preference (most people aspired to live in houses with gardens) but also of affordability: some people said they enjoyed living where they were now but would never be able to afford a family-sized unit in the same schemes and would perforce have to move if they had children.

Neighbourhood

Except in a few schemes (particularly Pembury Circus, Greenwich Creekside and the Pimlico estates, where the neighbourhood was seen as a positive attraction), residents' relationship with their neighbourhood seemed to be more practical/functional (proximity to services/transport) than about the local culture and heritage. Some new developments offer a range of services and amenities that allow residents to have a more or less self-contained lifestyle.

Residents of some new high-density developments, especially estate-regeneration projects, were often acutely aware of the tenure and income divide between newcomers and locals. Many said they felt disconnected from their wider neighbourhoods: some because they were uncomfortable in their role as gentrifiers, others because they were conscious of problems in the neighbourhood.

Management

Most residents in the survey said their schemes were well managed, but those we spoke to were more inclined to tell us about failures (broken lifts, etc.) than about successes. Especially in new schemes, for which residents had high expectations, these failures were a source of disappointment and eventually anger, which was often directed at management.

Residents said they valued efficient management but also wanted a sense of connection with those responsible. Physical presence matters: people like dealing with known and trusted staff and in those developments where they exist, concierges are very popular.

Residents in some schemes were concerned by the rate of increase of service charges, which they saw as completely unrelated to the services they received. Service charges varied widely across the schemes we looked at, but there was no clear link between the amount of the service charge and residents' degree of satisfaction. The bigger schemes often provide open space that is accessible to the general public, the maintenance of which is paid for out of service charges.

Scheme size

In broad terms, master-planned, relatively self-contained schemes that provide a range of services, retail outlets and open space seemed to be more successful for residents than one-off insertions into existing urban fabric. Residents value a mix of uses at ground-floor level including essentials (some said the best thing about their flat was living over a supermarket) but also independent businesses. However some of the case studies suggest independent

businesses are not necessarily the kinds of commercial tenants that are attracted to these schemes—and that some struggle to attract any commercial/retail tenants, at least initially.

Built form

Density per se did not seem to be a strong determinant of resident satisfaction: rather, what affected residents' experience was the quality of design and construction of the homes themselves and the outdoor areas, the neighbourhood setting (largely outside the control of the developer), access to green areas and good services, and protection from noxious factors such as noise, fumes etc. Reactions also depended on residents' expectations and priorities: those with children, for example, were more sensitive to issues like lack of storage, which was a major complaint. One contributor is the near universal use of floor-to-ceiling windows in all habitable rooms in the new developments.

The other major complaint in new case studies was overheating, both within individual dwellings and in corridors and other communal areas. Residents often saw it as a consequence of centralised heating systems that they could not control. This was less of a problem in homes that were dual-aspect (a minority of the modern flats, but a majority on historic estates).

The closer people are living to one another, the more important are physical construction details like proper noise insulation, heating design and lifts. Given that all the modern schemes would have been required to meet recent building standards, there was surprising variation in terms of how much residents were bothered by noise. Many people said they faced a trade-off between noise (windows open) and overheating (windows shut).

Outdoor space

Architects' renderings of outdoor spaces in new schemes always show them alive with happy picnickers and pushchairs, and indeed we found some schemes that were like that in real life (at least on a warm April day). Others have communal outdoor areas that are windswept and deserted. Our observations revealed that, predictably, spaces that were attractive, had comfortable seating and served pedestrian routes were better used than hard-surfaced, dead-end, heavily overlooked spaces. Having somewhere pleasant to sit means people might linger, helping to animate the space – although some developments had experience of benches being used for illicit activities.

Almost all the schemes featured private balconies, and many included roof gardens. Residents said that of the two they were more likely to use their own balconies; we heard consistently that even attractive roof gardens were little used. Neighbours using balconies gave rise to noise problems in some schemes.

General satisfaction

There was a wide range of lived experience across the different schemes and even *within* individual schemes, from strongly positive responses to strongly negative ones. On the whole, most residents are satisfied with their high-density homes. Many of our respondents had relatively high household incomes (some because they were sharing) and could choose where to live, and they elected to live in relatively expensive new flats rather than relatively cheaper older housing. Residents appreciated the easy access to public transport, the modern

design and good views; in the bigger, master-planned communities they praise the integration of green space and the range of amenities on offer.

On the evidence of this study, 'dense' housing seems to be relatively popular with residents – or at least not unpopular. This in itself is remarkable, given how alien some of these blocks would be to most people in the UK. There is a 'forced' choice issue, of course: most people in London know their options are massively constrained. But overall, residents of these big, densely-populated blocks are happy with their homes.

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SOURCES FOR ALL LOCAL AREA DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Population density	https://londondatastore-upload.s3.amazonaws.com/instant-atlas/ward-atlas-html/atlas.html
% Not born in UK	https://londondatastore-upload.s3.amazonaws.com/instant-atlas/ward-profiles-html/atlas.html
Age	https://londondatastore-upload.s3.amazonaws.com/instant-atlas/ward-profiles-html/atlas.html
Employment	https://londondatastore-upload.s3.amazonaws.com/instant-atlas/ward-atlas-html/atlas.html
Population density	https://londondatastore-upload.s3.amazonaws.com/instant-atlas/ward-profiles-html/atlas.html
Deprivation	http://dclgapps.communities.gov.uk/imd/idmap.html

Annex A: Tenants’ experience of BTR vs typical private renting

At Thurston Point (the only build-to-rent development in Phase 2) we asked residents about their impressions of renting from a corporate landlord. These questions were not asked in Phase 1. Note that we had 17 responses from private tenants at Thurston Point, so the following discussion is based on very low numbers.

Some 71% of Thurston Point private tenants said they had been unfamiliar with the concept of Build to Rent until moving to the scheme. Almost all had previously lived in other private rented property. Asked to compare living in build-to-rent accommodation with their earlier renting experiences, about half said BTR was better or much better.

We asked these tenants to compare living in a purpose-built rented building with their previous experience with rented housing. About half said it was better or much better, with 19% saying it was worse or much worse.

Compared to your previous experience of private renting, is living in a purpose-built rental development:

Thurston Point only

Much better	31%
Better	19%
About the same	31%
Worse	6%
Much worse	13%

We asked Thurston Point tenants their views on some of the claimed benefits of BTR. More than two-thirds agreed that the flats were higher quality and more modern than typical rental units, and 59% said the management was better. Only a quarter agreed that longer tenancies were a benefit—unsurprisingly, as Thurston Point does not offer the 3- to 5-year tenancies that several other BTR landlords advertise.

Perceived advantages of purpose-built schemes with corporate landlords

Thurston Point only

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Higher-quality, more modern flats	71%	24%	6%
More professional and responsive management	59%	24%	18%
Better communal facilities	41%	35%	24%
Longer tenancies	24%	29%	47%

We also asked about some of the perceived disadvantages of renting from a corporate landlord. The main one was that rents were more expensive (53% agreed). Some 57% of respondents at Thurston Point were paying more than 1/3 of their income in rent, the highest in any of our case studies. Fewer thought that they were bland or difficult to personalise.

Perceived disadvantages of purpose-built schemes with corporate landlords

Thurston Point only

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
More expensive rents	53%	24%	24%
Less able to personalise	41%	12%	47%
Bland/characterless	35%	18%	47%

Annex B: Detailed information about case study sites (Phase 2 only, in order of year of construction)

1. Millbank Estate

General	
Dates of completion & occupation	1897 – 1902
Architect/Developer	London County Council. ‘The earliest block, Hogarth Buildings, and probably the whole layout are by R. Minton Taylor under the LCC architect W.E. Riley.’ (Pevsner 1973 p 599). Now owned by Westminster Council and managed by Millbank Estate Management Office (MEMO), a TMO founded in 1997.
Brief history of the scheme & area	Millbank Estate was built between 1897 and 1902 on the site of the former Millbank Penitentiary, behind Tate Britain. It was originally intended to house 4000+ people displaced by the slum clearance of Clare Market, Holborn. Millbank Estate is one of London’s earliest social housing schemes – and the first to include indoor toilets. It is comprised of 17 buildings, which are named after distinguished painters such as Turner, Gainsborough and Millais. All 562 flats on the estate are now managed on behalf of Westminster City Council by MEMO, the largest tenant management organisation in Westminster.
Current tenure breakdown in %, and how this has changed over time	Originally all council rental, but Wikipedia page suggests that it is now 50/50 RTB and social rented. One tenant told us 60% leaseholders.
Density	
Site area	3.98ha, including a school & other uses
Typology	17 red-brick medium-rise blocks (4-5 storeys)
Number of units	562
Rough size breakdown (studios/1 beds/2 beds etc)	Overall breakdown unavailable, but sources suggest everything from studios to 3-beds
Density in dwellings/hectare	141 (red line includes Millbank Academy)
Demographics (ward: Vincent Square)	
Population density (persons per sq km – 2011)	14,291
% Of population not born in UK	44.6% (2011)
Age	% Children aged 0-15: 14.2 % Working age (16-64): 73.1 % Aged 65+: 12.6
Employment	Employment rate (2011 Census – 16-64): 69 Median Modelled Household Income 2012/13: £46,550
Deprivation index	Westminster 021D LSOA is ranked 4,943 out of 32,844 LSOAs in England; where 1 is the most deprived LSOA. This is amongst the 20% most deprived neighbourhoods in the country.
Location	
PTAL	4
Transport links	Short walk to Pimlico Tube, buses on Vauxhall Bridge Road
Parking provision	None within the estate; only deliveries and workmen are allowed with permits. On-street residents parking with permit.
Area characteristics—how far to shops/parks/schools	Central London. No major supermarket close but everything else is. Two schools on the estate.

Prices for standard unit (Rightmove 26 Feb 2018)	
Rent for two-bed flat	£2,080, Rosetti House
Social (if available)	Unavailable
Affordable (what kind?)	n/a
Sales price for two-bed flat	£699,950 in Hogarth House. 72sq m, service charge £1800 per annum £645,000 in Erasmus House ‘offering excellent value for money’ (68 square metres or 734 sq ft). Service charge £1300 per annum
Public/expert opinion	
Considered to be especially good or bad?*	Hogarth House, the first building, is listed Grade II*; the rest are Grade II listed. See listing entry here: https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1216792 The estate forms a large proportion of the Millbank Conservation Area, which was designated in 1969. ‘The Millbank Estate... forms the most conspicuous and celebrated evidence to support the claim that the LCC’s output up to the First World War is one of the greatest achievements of the Arts and Crafts Movement in English Architecture’ (Jones & Woodward 1983 p. 26). In the Millbank Estate ‘the LCC’s young architects provided an alternative housing model to the Italianate barracks of the Peabody Trust’ (ibid p. 318).
Design	
Most obvious design features	Pevsner says ‘Socially much more important than the Lutyens estate is the Millbank Estate; for here in 1987-1902 the LCC for the first time built a scheme of working-class flats on a large scale (4500 people) which was humane and pleasant to look at. The plan is symmetrical, aligned on the axis of the Tate Gallery and turned towards that west façade which the gallery never received. It is true that the bare courtyards are still depressing, but all the streets are tree-lined, and the design of the buildings is agreeable: segment-headed windows, on four storeys, with dormer windows and big gables. As for amenity there was little progress between this—which in 1900 was leading the world—and say 1935.’ (Pevsner 1973 p 599)
Characteristics of open space—gardens? Parking? Play areas?	Almost entirely brick paved, with some isolated trees and flower beds. Ground-floor residents have created areas of pot plants. No parking within the scheme and no playgrounds. The MEMO board ‘actively encourages residents who wish to take responsibility for plants and flowers in the courtyards’ (MEMO 2008), and supplies planters, soil and tools.
Quality of maintenance	Very good.
Permeable to through pedestrian/car traffic?	Cars on the streets only—ie not in the courtyards. Pedestrians yes.
Designed to appeal to particular groups (eg retirees, families)?	Designed originally to rehouse families cleared from Holborn slums.

Sources:

City of Westminster (2005) *Conservation Area Audit 28: Millbank*

Jones, E and Woodward, C. (1983) *A Guide to the Architecture of London* Weidenfeld & Nicolson

MEMO (2008) Millbank Estate Management Organisation Courtyard Policy

Pevsner, N. (3rd edition 1978) *The Buildings of England: London 1* Penguin

Stillwell, M. (2015) http://www.socialhousinghistory.uk/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Early_LCC_Housing_Part_3_13-Millbank_Estate.pdf

2. Tachbrook Estate

General	
Dates of completion & occupation	First 7 blocks 1935; later blocks 1953.
Architect/Developer	Westminster Housing Trust; owned by Peabody since 1972
Brief history of the scheme & area	The Tachbrook Estate was built on land that was formerly part of the Equitable Gas Company's Pimlico works, after which the site was briefly used as the Victoria Coach terminal (whilst the new one was built). In the early 1930s, the Westminster Housing Trust helped raise funds for the estate with donations the Royal family and famous authors like H.G Wells and A. Milne. The first seven blocks, opening in 1935, were the first working class flats in London to have "self-operated electric lifts". Delayed by the Second World War, the rest of the estate wasn't completed until 1953. The blocks were named after significant historical figures. In 1972, Tachbrook was transferred from WHT to Peabody.
Current tenure breakdown in %, and how this has changed over time	Presumably all social rented. Includes two sheltered housing blocks.
Density	
Site area	1.89ha
Typology	14 low-rise, 6 to 8 eight-storey buildings configured to provide a variety of 'courtyard' spaces
Number of units	427
Rough size breakdown (studios/1 beds/2 beds etc)	Unavailable
Density in dwellings/hectare	225
Demographics (ward: Tachbrook)	
Population density (persons per sq km – 2011)	20,427
% Not born in UK	41.1%
Age	% Children aged 0-15: 10.3 % Working age: 74.8 % Aged 65+: 14.9
Employment	Employment rate: 75.2 Median Modelled Household Income 2012/13: £47,340
Deprivation index	Westminster 024C LSOA is ranked 13,031 out of 32,844 LSOAs in England; where 1 is the most deprived LSOA. This is amongst the 40% most deprived neighbourhoods in the country.
Location	
PTAL	5
Transport links	10 minutes walk from Victoria (National Rail, Underground); 2 minutes walk from Pimlico Station (Victoria Line). Buses C10, 360 and 24 stop 4 minutes walk away.
Parking provision	Interior courtyard areas have numbered parking spaces, which are allocated to residents through a waiting list - all residents can apply for permits but demand is reportedly high.
Area characteristics—how far to shops/parks/schools	Grosvenor Rd (embankment) on one side; Pimlico tube station on the other. At the latter there is a parade of shops with laundrette, cafes, florist, a couple of pubs etc. Tachbrook Nursery School is within the estate, and Pimlico Academy is 0.2 miles away.
Prices for standard unit	
Rent for two-bed flat	n/a
Social (if available)	Unavailable

Affordable (what kind?)	n/a
Sales price for two-bed flat	n/a
Public/expert opinion	
Considered to be especially good or bad?*	Far less commentary than Lillington Gardens and Millbank Estate, but still general positivity - especially regarding generous provision of communal spaces/facilities.
Design	
Most obvious design features	The estate is brick-built, with 14 offset long blocks six to eight storeys high with ground-floor units opening onto their own little fenced yards, and deck-access upper floors. Each building has a rectangular stone plaque with carved lettering, explaining the name of the block and its link to Westminster. The network of courtyard areas includes both concrete sections with parking and green garden spaces.
Characteristics of open space—gardens? Parking? Play areas?	The blocks are set in landscaping, planted with numerous trees and with a communal gardens and a playground. Several well-kept children's play areas with good equipment. Nowhere obvious to sit in the public areas except in the little playgrounds, though many of the private ground-floor areas have seating outside. Several courtyard areas have rows of numbered parking spaces.
Quality of maintenance	The green spaces are very well kept.
Permeable to through pedestrian/car traffic?	Other than a few fenced green areas, all open spaces are accessible by car – pedestrians are clearly prioritised but there is a lot of car footprint.
Designed to appeal to particular groups (eg retirees, families)?	Family-oriented development, especially given the nursery- originally designed for working class families. The estate also includes two sheltered housing blocks with 36 Flats.

Sources:

<https://www.peabody.org.uk/our-neighbourhoods/westminster/tachbrook-estate/about>
<https://www.londonremembers.com/memorials/tachbrook-beaufort>
<https://1londonblog.uk/2017/08/12/tachbrook-estate-pimlico/>
<http://manchesterhistory.net/architecture/1930/tachbrook.html>

3. Lillington Gardens

General	
Dates of completion & occupation	First/second phase completed/occupied in the 1960s/70s, final phase completed/occupied in early 1980s
Architect/Developer	Darbourne & Darke/LCC
Brief history of the scheme & area	Lillington Gardens is an estate in Pimlico, City of Westminster, constructed in phases between 1961 and 1980 to a plan by Darbourne & Darke. The scheme was the subject of an open architectural competition. It was built around the church of St James the Less (built 1859-1861), which heavily influenced the design/materials used. It was one of the last high-density public housing schemes built in London during the post-war period. The entire estate, including the church, was designated a conservation area in 1990. It is now owned and managed by CityWest Homes.
Current tenure breakdown	Not available
Density	
Site area	4ha
Typology	Medium rise (13 3-8 storey blocks), courtyard
Number of units	777
Rough size breakdown (studios/1 beds/2 beds etc)	Not available, but certainly a notable mix (from studio flats to 4-bed flats and 2-bed 'houses').
Density in dwellings/hectare	194
Demographics (ward: Tachbrook)	
Population density (persons per sq km – 2011)	20,427
% Not born in UK	41.1%
Age	% Children aged 0-15: 10.3 % Working age: 74.8 % Aged 65+: 14.9
Employment	Employment rate: 75.2 Median Modelled Household Income 2012/13: £47,340
Deprivation index	Westminster 021A LSOA is ranked 4,565 out of 32,844 LSOAs in England; where 1 is the most deprived LSOA. This is amongst the 20% most deprived neighbourhoods in the country.
Location	
PTAL	6b (best)
Transport links	Pimlico underground station is under 5 minute's walk away (Victoria line). London Victoria station is also a 10-minute walk away, offering Circle, District and Victoria lines, and a range of rail and bus services. Buses include: 2, 24, 36, 185, and 436 from Pimlico or Victoria.
Parking provision	It is unclear what is (still) designated for residents, but there are quite a few parking spaces around the edges of the estate. The lower-rise 'houses' have their own private, gated parking space.
Area characteristics—how far to shops/parks/schools	Within the estate, there is a church, a Community hall, a Primary school (Pimlico School) and a medical centre. There are three also pubs within the Estate – the Lord Admiral, The Cask pub and The Pride of Pimlico. It is an 8-minute walk to Tate Britain. There are a number of supermarkets close by, including Waitrose, Tesco's and Sainsbury's, and Tachbrook Street Market runs weekly. There are also lots of shops and restaurants on Vauxhall Bridge Road.
Prices for a standard unit	
Rent for two-bed flat	£1,700 - £2,200
Social (if available)	(2013) £114pw all-inclusive
Affordable (what kind?)	n/a

Sales price for two-bed flat	£665,000 (April 2016)
	Public/expert opinion
Considered to be especially good or bad?*	<p>It has won the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Housing Design Award (1961) - Ministry of Housing and Local Government Award for Good Design (1970) - RIBA Award (1970) - RIBA Commendation (1973) <p>Nikolaus Pevsner described it in 1973 as "the most interesting recent housing scheme in London".</p> <p>Historic England describe it as, "the first low rise, high density public housing scheme to be built. It proved that low rise flats with an interesting design could accommodate the same number of people per acre (density) as tower blocks. It influenced the style of council housing from the mid 1960s until the early 1980s".</p>
	Design
Most obvious design features	Staggered elevations (including balconies/gardens), generous courtyard style green spaces, reinforced concrete and red-brown brick.
Characteristics of open space—gardens? Play areas?	Within the estate, there is a network of immaculately kept, green courtyard areas and trees. There is also a children's playground situated in the gardens. The original landscaping has reportedly been developed considerably since 1996 with the involvement of residents, and now includes a wide range of shrubs and herbaceous plants, as well as a Mediterranean garden, an exotic border, sensory garden with fountain, and a wildlife garden.
Quality of maintenance	Very high indeed. The estate was the first in the country to win the Green Flag award for excellent management and maintenance.
Permeable to through pedestrian/car traffic?	Pedestrians can walk through, but there is no access for cars through the central courtyards.
Designed to appeal to particular groups (eg retirees, families)?	Designed with diversity/mix in mind – strives to appeal to a wide range of demographics, including in terms of accessibility. One blocks, Charlwood House, is in fact an old people's hostel.

Sources:

<https://issuu.com/doodyj/docs/housingbook>

<http://www.londongardensonline.org/gardens-online-record.asp?ID=WST057>

<http://www.citywestresidential.co.uk/estates/pimlico/lillington-gardens-estate>

[http://www.homeconnections.org.uk/advert/Publish/Westminster/Property_Flyer%20-%20wk%2027%20\(2-6%20Oct\)%202013.pdf](http://www.homeconnections.org.uk/advert/Publish/Westminster/Property_Flyer%20-%20wk%2027%20(2-6%20Oct)%202013.pdf)

<http://www.rightmove.co.uk/property-for-sale/property-59204258.html>

4. Woodberry Down

General																									
Dates of completion & occupation	Currently completed: Phase 1 out of 6 phases. Start of building work: 2009 First occupied: 2012																								
Architect/Developer	Fletcher Priest Architects / Berkeley homes / Genesis Housing																								
Brief history of the scheme & area	Woodberry Down is the site of a large regeneration project that involves demolishing 1,980 council homes and building more than 5,500 new ones. A range of new facilities is also being built, including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • three new public parks • a community centre and library • a new Academy and extended primary school • a new children's centre • a range of retail and commerce spaces We examined KSS1 and KSS3, sections of the regeneration scheme occupied between 2012 and 2015 with over 800 residential units.																								
Current tenure breakdown in %, and how this has changed over time	Entire site: 38% social housing, 12% shared ownership and 50% private housing KSS1: 306 private sale, 117 private rented, 75 intermediate KSS3: 160 private rented, 60 intermediate																								
Density																									
Site area	~3.42 hectares (KSS1 & KSS3)																								
Typology	9 buildings between 5 and 30 storeys (KSS1 & KSS3)																								
Number of units	835 (KSS1 & KSS3)																								
Rough size breakdown (studios/1 beds/2 beds etc)	Entire site: <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse; text-align: center;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 25%;">Unit type</th> <th style="width: 25%;">% of units Private</th> <th style="width: 25%;">% of units Intermediate</th> <th style="width: 25%;">% of units Rented*</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Studio</td> <td>0-10</td> <td>0</td> <td>0</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1 bed</td> <td>40-50</td> <td>35-45</td> <td>22-28</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2 bed</td> <td>40-50</td> <td>35-45</td> <td>33-42</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3 bed</td> <td rowspan="3">10-20</td> <td rowspan="3">10-20</td> <td>20-22</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4 bed</td> <td>16-18</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5 bed</td> <td>0-5</td> </tr> </tbody> </table> <small>*Rented tenure means social rented tenure or where agreed with the Council the provision of affordable rented tenure.</small>	Unit type	% of units Private	% of units Intermediate	% of units Rented*	Studio	0-10	0	0	1 bed	40-50	35-45	22-28	2 bed	40-50	35-45	33-42	3 bed	10-20	10-20	20-22	4 bed	16-18	5 bed	0-5
Unit type	% of units Private	% of units Intermediate	% of units Rented*																						
Studio	0-10	0	0																						
1 bed	40-50	35-45	22-28																						
2 bed	40-50	35-45	33-42																						
3 bed	10-20	10-20	20-22																						
4 bed			16-18																						
5 bed			0-5																						
Density in dwellings/hectare	KSS1 & KSS3: 244																								
Demographics (ward: Woodberry Down/Brownswood)																									
Population density (persons per sq km – 2011)	13,940																								
% Not born in UK	42.7%																								
Age	% Children aged 0-15: 13.8 % Working age: 80.5 % Aged 65+: 5.7																								
Employment	Employment rate: 72 Median Modelled Household Income 2012/13: £40,070																								
Population density	Persons per sq km – 2013:																								
Index of Multiple Deprivation	Hackney 002FLSOA is ranked 1,634 out of 32,844 LSOAs in England; where 1 is the most deprived LSOA. This is amongst the 10% most deprived neighbourhoods in the country.																								
Location																									
PTAL	5																								
Transport links	Manor House tube station																								
Parking provision	Parking is provided at the basement level of the scheme. Any number of spaces can be rented out by residents on a first come, first served basis.																								

Area characteristics—how far to shops/parks/schools	A new school has been built as part of the regeneration project as well as 3 parks. New commercial premises include a Sainsbury's local.
Prices for standard unit	
Rent for two-bed flat	£1,842 pcm in Residence tower
Social (if available)	Not available
Affordable (what kind?)	Part ownership to be offered soon
Sales price for two-bed flat	£775,000 in Hartington
Public/expert opinion	
Considered to be especially good or bad?*	Won Gold award for best regeneration from WhatHouse? Awards 2016.
Design	
Most obvious design features	KSS1 & KSS3 seek to capitalise upon reservoir view – including c-shaped buildings to maximise site lines in this direction. Luxurious glass facades.
Characteristics of open space—gardens? Parking? Play areas?	Manicured green spaces alongside the reservoir act as through-routes, while there are fenced gardens in the courtyard shaped blocks. There is also a large, publically accessible children's playground.
Quality of maintenance	Very high indeed.
Permeable to through pedestrian/car traffic?	Permeable to pedestrians everywhere but internal areas of courtyard blocks. However, there are open gates in other parts of the scheme that make the private/public delineation slightly unclear. Car access limited to roads/basement car parks.
Designed to appeal to particular groups (eg retirees, families)?	Given the playground and school, the scheme feels family-oriented. However, the luxurious tower blocks appear to be aimed more at young professionals.

Sources:

<https://hackney.gov.uk/woodberry-down>

[Planning application for Woodberry Down Estate masterplan \[pdf, 790.31Kb\]](#) This received planning permission in February, 2014.

Nomisweb <https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/localarea?compare=1237319907>

Index of Multiple Deprivation <http://dclgapps.communities.gov.uk/imd/idmap.html>

5. Thurston Point

General	
Dates of completion & occupation	Completed January 2016 Occupied February 2016
Architect/Developer	ECE Architecture/ Bouygues/ London & Quadrant
Brief history of the scheme & area	This development is located on a former industrial site. In 2011, working alongside Bouygues, ECE Architecture prepared a competitive tender bid and alternative design proposals to secure the project for London & Quadrant. The area in Lewisham ranges from urban low-rise 3-storey housing to the West, to high-rise 24 storey mixed use and commercial in the centre. Most of the housing development has occurred in the past 10 years – the 1999 extension of the DLR to Greenwich and Lewisham critical in regenerating the area. A few minutes away, towards the ‘centre’ of Lewisham, is the landmark Lewisham Gateway development.
Current tenure breakdown in %, and how this has changed over time	Private: 325 (42 shared ownership) Social rent: 68 Intermediate: 22
Value	£55m
Density	
Site area	1.03ha
Typology	15-storey landmark residential tower, 8/9 storeys, ‘r’ shaped residential block, courtyard area in the middle. 45,000 sq ft commercial space, multi-deck car parking.
Number of units	406
Rough size breakdown (studios/1 beds/2 beds etc)	108 one-bedroom 256 two-bedroom 42 three-bedroom
Density in dwellings/hectare	393
Demographics (Lewisham Central)	
Population density (persons per sq km – 2011)	8,358
% Not born in UK	42.7%
Age	% Children aged 0-15: 20 % Working age: 72.6 % Aged 65+: 7.4
Employment	Employment rate: 69.6 Median Modelled Household Income 2012/13: £35,760
Deprivation index	Lewisham 012E LSOA is ranked 8,101 out of 32,844 LSOAs in England; where 1 is the most deprived LSOA. This is amongst the 30% most deprived neighbourhoods in the country.
Location	
PTAL	6b (best possible)
Transport links	5 minute walk to Lewisham station (National Rail, DLR) and Lewisham Bus Station
Parking provision	Restricted parking spaces available to purchase
Area characteristics—how far to shops/parks/schools	Asda, Screwfix and a ‘The Gym’ at base Greenwich 20-minute walk away Hilly Fields 15 minute walk away Quite a few primary/secondary schools nearby, e.g. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prendergast Vale School (Primary/Secondary state school - 0.18 miles) • Morden Mount Primary School (0.27 miles)
Prices for standard unit	
Rent for two-bed flat	£1,450 to £1,600 per month

		L&Q - Thurston Point, Lewisham, SE13				
		No Beds	Area sq m	Area sq ft	Monthly Rent	£psf/pa
		1	44.0	474	£1,300	£32.91
		2	60.3	649	£1,475	£27.27
		3	69.6	749	£1,950	£31.24
		Average	58.0	624	£1,575	£30.29
Social (if available)	Not available					
Affordable (what kind?)	Shared ownership: £147,500 for a 25% share					
Sales price for two-bed flat	n/a					
Public/expert opinion						
Considered to be especially good or bad?*	Not much analysis other than criticism over the lack of affordable housing provision, and some mild slating r.e. design – e.g. the ‘plastic’ façade.					
Design (photos)						
Most obvious design features	There are two different buildings: 1 freestanding tower of 15 floors (on the Loampit Vale side), and one r-shaped courtyard block of 11 floors. Both buildings have a variety of inset and external balconies. There are six ‘pod’ penthouses scattered on the roof of the r-shaped building, all facing in different directions. The black and white façade is quite plastic-esque and shiny.					
Characteristics of open space—gardens? Parking? Play areas?	Outside the development on the Loampit Vale side, there is a small ‘public space’ comprised of four walled areas with plant beds. There are a number of long benches beside these. There are also a few rows of bicycle racks scattered around. There is a large open, courtyard-like space at the centre of the development, which has a series of angular plant beds and seating areas within it.					
Quality of maintenance	Seems fine from the outside, but it is only a few years old.					
Permeable to through pedestrian/car traffic?	Not at all – it is very impermeable and the internal courtyard is only visible from a few angles/if you are looking for it.					
Designed to appeal to particular groups (eg retirees, families)?	The marketing is aimed at a wide range of demographics, with many prams/children in the photos.					

Sources:

https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/PAWS/media_id_25712/thurston_road_industrial_estate_report.pdf

<http://www.unionstreetpartners.co.uk/usp-properties/detail/4553>

<http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=888804&page=47>

<http://lewishamretailpark.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/boards2.pdf>

http://planning.lewisham.gov.uk/online-applications/applicationDetails.do?activeTab=documents&keyVal= LEWIS_DCAPR_61777

http://planning.lewisham.gov.uk/online-applications/files/802DA9FD4D6FAA4D861590DEA3BB39C9/pdf/DC_10_076005_X--124909.pdf

http://planning.lewisham.gov.uk/online-applications/files/0317D942857067C611B6036FEBC7EC84/pdf/DC_13_083761--215236.pdf

<http://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/documents/s52886/Lewisham%20Retail%20Park%20Committee%20Report.pdf>

6. Woolwich Central

General	
Dates of completion & occupation	Our study concerns phases 1 & 2 out of 4 - first occupied in 2014.
Architect/Developer / Housing Association	Sheppard Robson / Spen Hill /L&Q
Brief history of the scheme & area	The site in Woolwich Town Centre was formerly a brutalist car park, and now forms the biggest Tesco development ever built. Spen Hill secured planning permission in 2007, but construction was delayed by the recession, meaning that the store didn't open until autumn 2012. Greenwich Council claimed the development would "support the vitality and viability of the borough's strategic centre and be a catalyst for further regeneration of greater Woolwich" . The deal was significant for Greenwich Council – new council offices built at no cost to the council, and new homes and supermarket would help council meet its demanding housing and development targets. The scheme includes two levels of car parking, a basement energy centre, and above that the store, plus six residential blocks of varying heights rising up to 17 storeys. There are plenty of other regeneration projects nearby – most notably the large Berkley homes development towards the river (Woolwich Arsenal).
Current tenure breakdown in %, and how this has changed over time	77% private; 23% intermediate
Density	
Site area	1.59ha
Typology	Blocks up to 17 storeys above large Tescos; roof gardens between blocks
Number of units	259
Rough size breakdown (studios/1 beds/2 beds etc)	One to three bedrooms apartments.
Density in dwellings/hectare	420
Demographics (Woolwich Common)	
Population density (persons per sq km – 2011)	6,754
% Not born in UK	41.8%
Age	% Children aged 0-15: 26.7 % Working age: 67 % Aged 65+: 6.2
Employment	Employment rate: 60.5 Median Modelled Household Income 2012/13: £30,260
Index of Multiple Deprivation	Greenwich 011BLSOA is ranked 4,135 out of 32,844 LSOAs in England; where 1 is the most deprived LSOA. This is amongst the 20% most deprived neighbourhoods in the country.
Location	
PTAL	PTAL score: 6b
Transport links	DLR station and Crossrail (Elizabeth Line) opening soon.
Parking provision	Two floors of parking spaces below the scheme.
Area characteristics—how far to shops/parks/schools	In addition to the vast Tesco within the scheme, Woolwich Town Centre has many shops of all kinds, and there are also lots schools in the area. Barrack Field (park) is a 10-minute walk across the South Circular.
Prices for standard unit	
Rent for two-bed flat	£1,450 pcm

Social (if available)	N/A
Affordable (what kind?)	Shared-ownership For a two-bed, 35 per cent tranche will cost £91,000, plus a monthly rent of £387.29.
Sales price for two-bed flat	Two-bedroom flats start at £260,000
Service charge	£173.32
Public/expert opinion	
Considered to be especially good or bad?*	Widely criticized and won the Carbuncle cup in 2014. "If there is one common theme this year, it is that of overdevelopment, and Woolwich Central is a prime example of too much for the site, for the area and for the eye," <i>Hank Dittmar, urbanist and advisor to the Prince's Trust</i> "No matter how you dress it up, Woolwich Central is a huge two-storey car park with a supermarket above and some flats on top: a type of development completely alien to London town centres like Woolwich and one which struggles to integrate well" <i>Alex Grant, the chair of the planning committee that granted planning permission to Woolwich Central.</i>
Design	
Most obvious design features	The complex is made up of six interconnected blocks, featuring a multi-coloured facade of grey, yellow and green striped panels. Tesco is very prominent, with a large sign featured on the plastic/glass façade.
Characteristics of open space—gardens? Parking? Play areas?	There is a network of communal roof terraces between blocks with some ornamental green patches. There is also a small, fairly featureless public green space in front of the Tesco.
Quality of maintenance	Unclear without from the outside of the development.
Permeable to through pedestrian/car traffic?	Towards the rear of the development there is a raised walkway accessible to pedestrians on either side by stairs.
Designed to appeal to particular groups (eg retirees, families)?	Young professionals – and several comments from residents suggest that there are very few children.

Sources

<https://www.willmottdixon.co.uk/projects/woolwich-central>

<https://www.dezeen.com/2014/09/03/woolwich-central-development-wins-carbuncle-cup-uk-worst-building-2014/>

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/sep/03/woolwich-central-tesco-carbuncle-cup>

www.newlondondevelopment.com/nld/project/woolwich_central

http://meyerhomeswoolwich.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/170612-Consultation-Boards_Low-res_REV-05.pdf

<http://placealliance.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Place-Alliance-Summer-School-2016-Woolwich-Central.pdf>

Annex C: Questionnaire text

Density Survey

Q1 Thank you for agreeing to take part in this survey, which should take 5-10 minutes to complete. It is part of a research project at LSE called *The Experience of Density: Living in new London housing*. This study is being done on behalf of the Greater London Authority. For more information on the project, please take a look at our website: <https://lsecities.net/objects/research-projects/experiencing-density>

Your responses are anonymous. At the end of the survey you will have the opportunity to enter a prize draw for a £25 John Lewis voucher.

If you have questions about the research please contact Tim White (t.white2@lse.ac.uk) or Kath Scanlon (k.j.scanlon@lse.ac.uk)

Q2 How long have you lived at this address?

- Less than 1 year (1)
- 1 up to 2 years (2)
- 2 up to 3 years (3)
- 3 up to 5 years (4)
- 5 up to 10 years (5)
- More than 10 years (6)

Q3 Was (name of development) your first choice of housing when you were looking for a new home?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Was (name of development) your first choice of housing when you were looking for a new home? = No

Q4 Where and in what type of building would you have preferred to live?

Q5 Please select the top 3 reasons you chose to move to (name of development) specifically

- Transport links (1)
 - I like the neighbourhood (2)
 - Proximity to work/university/college/school (3)
 - Safety/security of development (4)
 - Communal facilities (5)
 - Community feel in the area (6)
 - Availability of shared ownership, affordable or social housing (7)
 - Flat price/rent was affordable (8)
 - Architecture/design of flat (9)
 - View (10)
 - Size of flat (11)
 - Flats are modern (12)
 - Central location (13)
 - Access to local services (e.g. shops, healthcare) (14)
 - Other (please specify) (15)
-

Q6 Is the flat in which you live:

- Owned by you or another member of your household (1)
 - Shared ownership (2)
 - Rented from employer (3)
 - Rented from relative (4)
 - Rented - private (5)
 - Rented - social landlord (6)
 - Don't know (7)
 - Other (please specify) (8)
-

Display This Question:

If Is the flat in which you live: = Rented from employer

Or Is the flat in which you live: = Rented from relative

Or Is the flat in which you live: = Rented - private

Or Is the flat in which you live: = Rented - social landlord

Q7 How long is your current tenancy agreement?

- 6 months or less (1)
- 6-12 months (2)
- 1-2 years (3)
- 2-5 years (4)
- 5+ years (5)
- I have a month-by-month rolling contract (6)
- This is not applicable to me (7)

Q8 How many bedrooms are in your home?

▼ Studio (1) ... 4+ (5)

Q9 Which floor do you live on? (adjust according to tallest building)

0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

Floor (0 indicates ground floor) (1)	
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Q10 Is your home dual aspect (windows on more than one side of the flat)?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)
- Don't know (3)

Q11 Who do you live with?

- I live alone (1)
- I live with my spouse/civil partner (9)
- I live with my partner who is not my spouse or civil partner (11)
- I am a single parent living with my child(ren) (16 years old or under) (12)
- I live with my spouse/civil partner and our child(ren) (16 years old or under) (13)
- I live with other adults who are related to me (e.g. siblings or adult children) (14)
- I live with other adults who are not related to me (15)
- Other (please specify) (16)

Display This Question:
 If Who do you live with? = I am a single parent living with my child(ren) (16 years old or under)
 Or Who do you live with? = I live with my spouse/civil partner and our child(ren) (16 years old or under)

Q12 Number of children (16 years or under) in your household

▼ 1 (1) ... 5 or more (5)

Q13 How many people, yourself included, currently live in your household?

▼ 1 (1) ... 10 or more (10)

Q14 On average, how often do you use these facilities or take part in these events in your development?

	Every day (1)	More than once a week (2)	1-2 times a month (3)	3+ times a month (4)	Less than once a month (5)	Never (6)	There are none in my development (7)
Communal outdoor area/s (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Communal indoor area/s (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Resident social events (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Concierge (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gym (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Online forum/s (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Car parking (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Bicycle Storage (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify) (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Display This Question:

If On average, how often do you use these facilities or take part in these events in your development... = Concierge [Every day]

Or On average, how often do you use these facilities or take part in these events in your development... = Concierge [More than once a week]

Or On average, how often do you use these facilities or take part in these events in your development... = Concierge [1-2 times a month]

Or On average, how often do you use these facilities or take part in these events in your development... = Concierge [3+ times a month]

Or On average, how often do you use these facilities or take part in these events in your development... = Concierge [Less than once a month]

Q15 What do you use the concierge for?

Q16 On average, how often do you use the following amenities in your local area (within a 10-15 minute walk of your development)?

	Every day (1)	More than once a week (2)	1-2 times a month (3)	3+ times a month (4)	Less than once a month (5)	Never (6)	There are none in my local area (7)
Pubs/Bars/Clubs (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Restaurants/Cafes (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Takeaways (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Shops (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Libraries (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Parks (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Theatres (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Cinema (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other (please specify) (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q17 Do you or someone else in your household own a car?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

Display This Question:

If Do you or someone else in your household own a car? = Yes

Q18 For what reason do you own car? (Please select as many as are applicable)

- Family reasons/children (1)
 - I don't like public transport (2)
 - Professional/business reasons (3)
 - Comfort (4)
 - Reliability (5)
 - Convenience (6)
 - Leisure activities (7)
 - Other (please specify) (8)
-

Display This Question:

If Do you or someone else in your household own a car? = Yes

Q19 Where do you park your car?

- Parking space in the development (1)
- Resident's parking on street - permit required (2)
- General on-street parking (3)

Display This Question:

If Do you or someone else in your household own a car? = No

Q20 Why not? (Please select all that apply)

- Can't afford to own/run one (1)
 - Other modes of transport are more convenient (2)
 - Difficulties with car parking (3)
 - Safety concerns (4)
 - Environmental reasons (5)
 - Due to a disability (6)
 - Not interested in driving/don't like driving (7)
 - Busy/congested roads (8)
 - Other (please specify) (9)
-

Display This Question:

If Who do you live with? = I live with other adults who are not related to me

Or Who do you live with? = I live alone

Q21 Thinking of your housing costs (including rent/mortgage payment, service charges, ground rents, mortgage interest and building insurance, but not council tax or utilities), do these make up

- Less than one third of your income (1)
 - About one third of your income (2)
 - More than one third of your income (3)
 - Don't know (4)
 - Would rather not say (5)
-

Display This Question:

If Who do you live with? = I live with my spouse/civil partner

Or Who do you live with? = I live with my partner who is not my spouse or civil partner

Or Who do you live with? = I am a single parent living with my child(ren) (16 years old or under)

Or Who do you live with? = I live with my spouse/civil partner and our child(ren) (16 years old or under)

Or Who do you live with? = I live with other adults who are related to me (e.g. siblings or adult children)

Q22 Thinking of your housing costs (including rent/mortgage payment, service charges, ground rents, mortgage interest and building insurance, but not council tax or utilities), do these make up

- Less than one third of your household income (1)
 - About one third of your household income (2)
 - More than one third of your household income (3)
 - Don't know (4)
 - Would rather not say (5)
-

Q23 How many people do you know in (name of development) (other than the people you live with)?

- I don't know anyone else (1)
 - 1-3 people (2)
 - 4-6 people (3)
 - 7-10 people (4)
 - More than 10 people (5)
-

Display This Question:

If How many people do you know in (name of development) (other than the people you live with)? = 1-3 people

Or How many people do you know in (name of development) (other than the people you live with)? = 4-6 people

Or How many people do you know in (name of development) (other than the people you live with)? = 7-10 people

Or How many people do you know in (name of development) (other than the people you live with)? = More than 10 people

Q24 How did you meet them?

Q25 What do you like about living in (name of development)?

Q26 What do you dislike?

Q27 Please select how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement: I plan to remain a resident of (name of development) for a number of years

- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)

Q28 Listed below are some perceived benefits of living in high-density developments. Please select how strongly you agree or disagree with the following in relation to (name of development):

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (5)
Good communal services and amenities (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Good views (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
High levels of safety (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Strong sense of community (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Well-managed (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Flats are modern (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Functional (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
All inclusive services/convenient (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q29 Listed below are some perceived drawbacks of living in high-density developments. Please select how strongly you agree or disagree with the following in relation to (name of development):

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (5)
Lack of storage (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Homes are small (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Limited access to outdoor space (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of community feel (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
High levels of noise (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Limited light (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overheating (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Overcrowded (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Lack of privacy (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Not family-friendly (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q30 Could you give more detail about the problem/s identified above?

Q31 When you hear the phrase 'high density housing', list 5 words and/or phrases that come to mind

1 (1) _____

2 (2) _____

3 (3) _____

4 (4) _____

5 (5) _____

Q32 Please select how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Q33 I feel like I belong to this neighbourhood

Strongly agree (1)

Agree (2)

Neither agree nor disagree (3)

Disagree (4)

Strongly disagree (5)

Q34 I like to think of myself as similar to the people who live in this neighbourhood

Strongly agree (1)

Agree (2)

Neither agree nor disagree (3)

Disagree (4)

Strongly disagree (5)

Q35 Where did you live immediately before moving to this flat? If in the UK please provide postcode; otherwise name of city and country

Q36 Approximately how long did you live in your previous house or flat?

- Less than one year (1)
- 1 up to 2 years (2)
- 2 up to 3 years (3)
- 3 up to 5 years (4)
- 5 up to 10 years (5)
- More than 10 years (6)
- Don't know (7)

Q37 What were your reasons for leaving your previous house/flat? Please tick all that apply

- To move to a better neighbourhood (1)
 - To move to London (2)
 - Proximity to work/university/school (3)
 - Wanted a larger house/flat (4)
 - Wanted a smaller house/flat (5)
 - Wanted a cheaper house/flat (6)
 - Could not afford mortgage payments/rent on previous house/flat (7)
 - Family/personal reasons (8)
 - Wanted to buy (9)
 - Moved out of family home/student accommodation (10)
 - Landlord asked me to leave/gave me notice (11)
 - Didn't get on with the landlord (12)
 - Previous accommodation was in poor condition/unsuitable (13)
 - Other (please specify) (14)
-

Q38 How many flats/houses have you lived in over the past 5 years?

- 1 (1)
 - 2 (2)
 - 3 (3)
 - 4 (4)
 - 5 (5)
 - 6 or more (please specify) (6)
-

Q39 From the options below, please select what the THREE most important aspects of a home are to you

- Having a home that is spacious (1)
- Having a home I can settle in for the long term (2)
- Affordability (3)
- Having outdoor space (4)
- Having a modern home (5)
- Feeling safe in the neighbourhood (6)
- Somewhere that is child-friendly (7)
- Being close to local services such as schools, shops, GP surgeries, etc. (8)
- A good local nightlife (9)
- Knowing my neighbours/sense of community (10)
- Being close to family and friends (11)
- Being close to work (12)
- Having the opportunity to own my own home (13)
- Living somewhere with good transport links (14)

Having a good view (15)

Other (please specify) (16)

Q40 Has life in (name of development) met your expectations? Please explain your answer

Yes (1) _____

No (2) _____

Q41 List up to 5 words or phrases to describe the location, building type and other features of the home you hope to be living in in 10 years' time

1 (1) _____

2 (2) _____

3 (3) _____

4 (4) _____

5 (5) _____

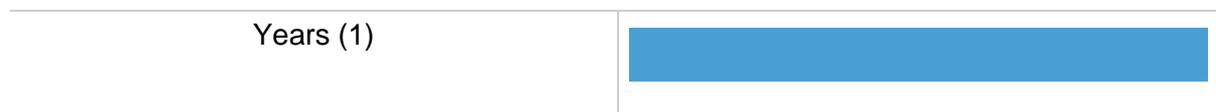
Q42 Do you think that high-density developments like (name of development) provide a good long-term housing option for people in London? Please explain your answer

Yes (1) _____

No (2) _____

Q43 What was your age at your last birthday?

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100



Q44 Which country are you from?

Q45 What is your gender?

Q46 What is your ethnic group?

- White (1)
- Mixed/multiple ethnic groups (2)
- Asian/Asian British (3)
- Black/African/Caribbean/Black British (4)
- Other ethnic group (5)

Display This Question:

If What is your ethnic group? = White

Q47 White

- English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British (1)
 - Irish (2)
 - Gypsy or Irish Traveller (3)
 - Any other White background (please specify) (4)
-

Display This Question:

If What is your ethnic group? = Mixed/multiple ethnic groups

Q48 Mixed/multiple ethnic groups

- White and Black Caribbean (1)
 - White and Black African (2)
 - White and Asian (3)
 - Any other Mixed/multiple ethnic background (please specify) (4)
-

Display This Question:

If What is your ethnic group? = Asian/Asian British

Q49 Asian/Asian British

- Indian (1)
 - Pakistani (2)
 - Bangladeshi (3)
 - Chinese (4)
 - Any other Asian Background (please specify) (5)
-

Display This Question:

If What is your ethnic group? = Black/African/Caribbean/Black British

Q50 Black/African/Caribbean/Black British

- African (1)
 - Caribbean (2)
 - Any other Black/African/Caribbean background (please specify) (3)
-

Display This Question:

If What is your ethnic group? = Other ethnic group

Q51 Other ethnic group

- Arab (1)
 - Any other ethnic group (please specify) (2)
-

Q52 Which of these options best describes your current employment situation?

- Self-employed (1)
- Paid employment (full time/part time) (2)
- Unemployed (3)
- Retired (4)
- On maternity leave (5)
- Family care or home (6)
- Full-time student (7)
- Long-term sick or disabled (8)
- Government training scheme (9)
- Unpaid, family business (10)
- Doing something else (11)

Display This Question:

*If Which of these options best describes your current employment situation? = Self-employed
Or Which of these options best describes your current employment situation? = Paid
employment (full time/part time)*

*Or Which of these options best describes your current employment situation? = On maternity
leave*

*Or Which of these options best describes your current employment situation? = Unpaid, family
business*

*Or Which of these options best describes your current employment situation? = Government
training scheme*

Q53 Occupation

Q54 How many people in your household are income earners?

▼ 1 (2) ... 10 (11)

Q55 Please indicate the combined annual income of your household, prior to tax being deducted

▼ Up to £10,000 (1) ... Would rather not say (18)

Q56 Thank you for taking part in this survey! As a token of our appreciation, we invite you to enter our prize draw for a £25 John Lewis gift voucher.

If you would like to, please provide your email address and/or phone number below:

Q57 Are you interested in taking part in further research?

To learn about residents' experiences in greater depth we will be hosting a series of two-hour early-evening workshops at the London School of Economics in February and March, and would be very grateful if you would consider attending. Participants will be entered for a prize draw for a £100 John Lewis voucher.

If you might be interested in taking part (no commitment) and are happy to be contacted by a member of the research team, please enter your name and email and/or phone number below:

Name (1) _____

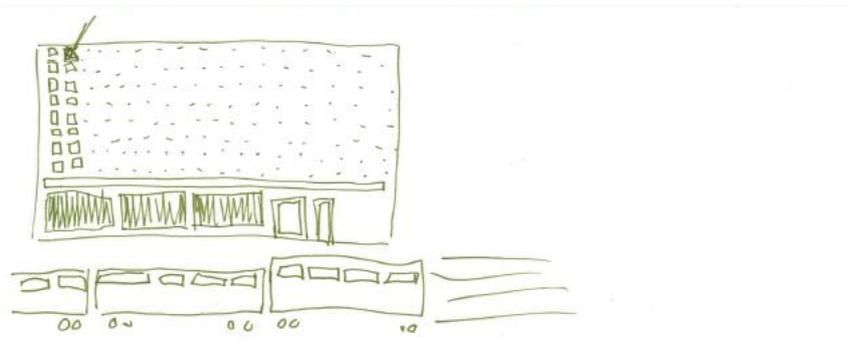
Email (2) _____

Phone number (3) _____

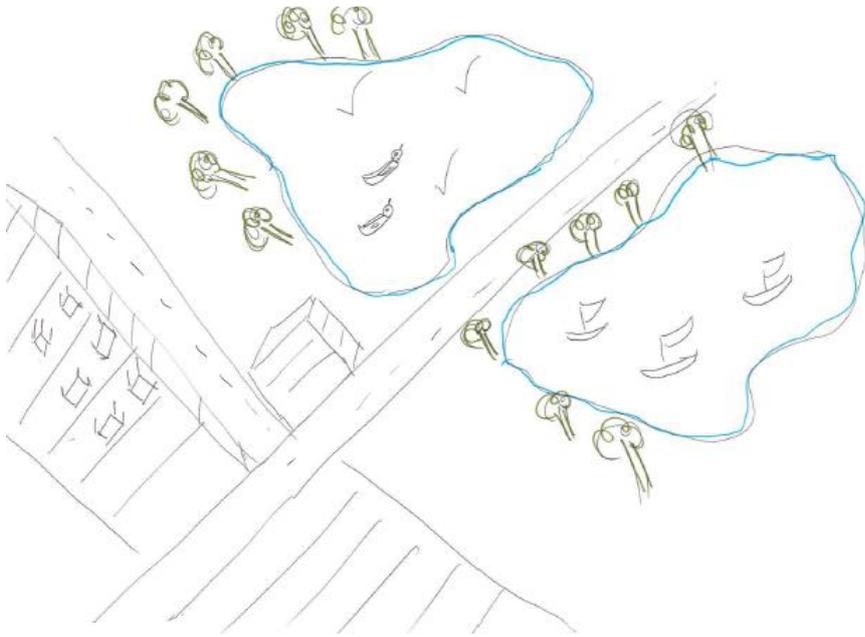
Annex D: ‘Draw where you live’—a selection of mental maps drawn by focus-group participants



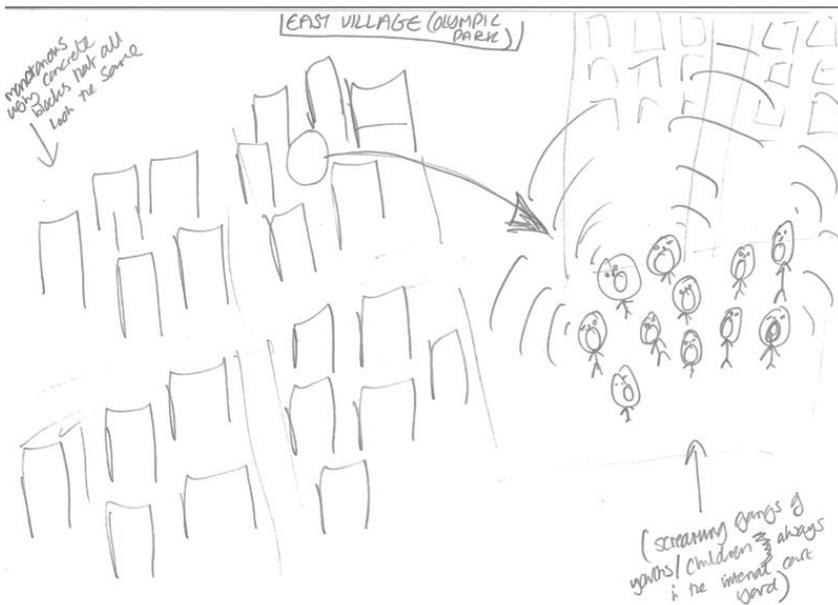
Lillington Gardens



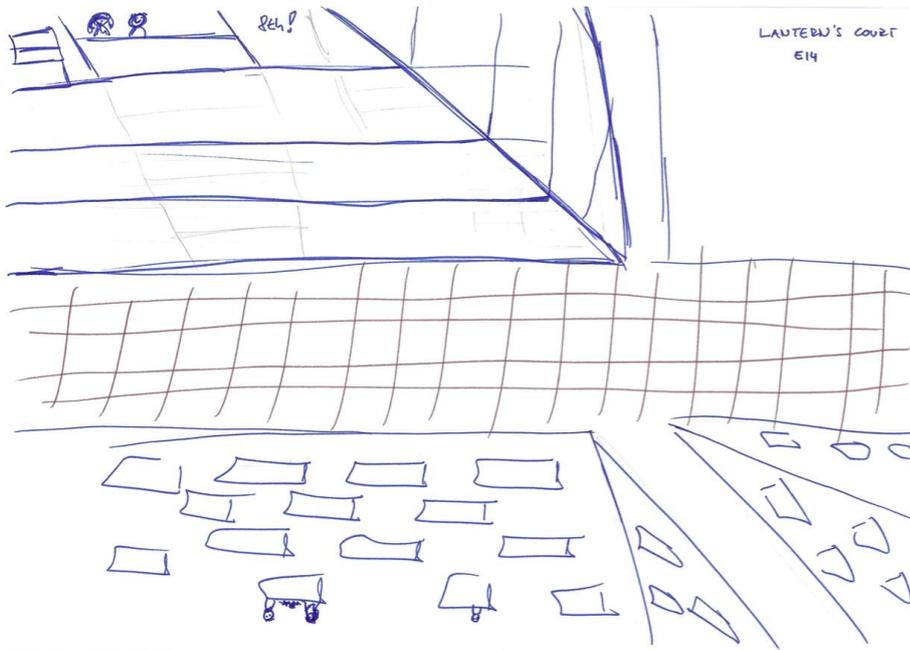
Thurston Point



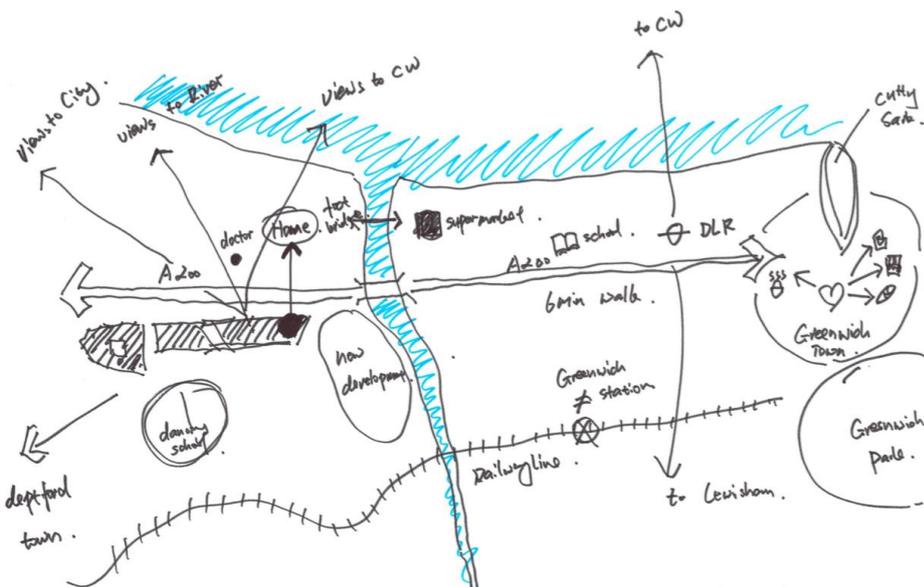
Woodberry Down



East Village



Lanterns Court



Greenwich Creekside